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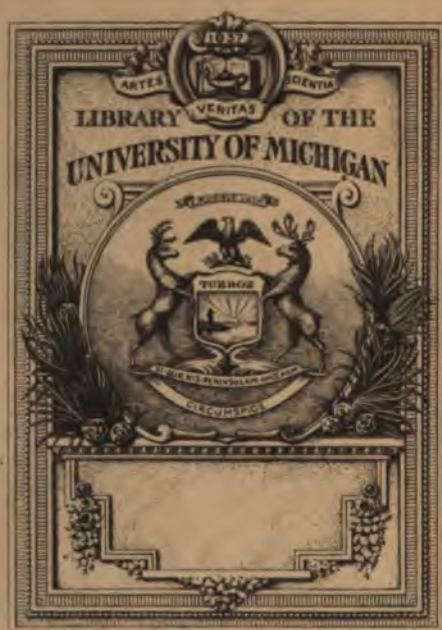
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**Proceedings**  
**OF THE**  
**Huguenot Society of London**



**Proceedings**  
**OF THE**  
**Huguenot Society of London**



**VOL. VII.**  
**1901-1904**

*Privately printed for the Society by*  
**THE ABERDEEN UNIVERSITY PRESS LIMITED**  
**1905**



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Society of London

VII, No. 1

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Proceedings  
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# Huguenot Society of London

VOL. VII., No. 1

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1903



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**CORRECTION.**

**Page 214.**—*For* Dean of St. Patrick's, Armagh, *read* Dean of St. Patrick's, Ardagh.



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SECOND ORDINARY MEETING OF THE SESSION,  
1900-1901.

HELD AT

THE HOTEL WINDSOR, VICTORIA STREET,  
WESTMINSTER.

WEDNESDAY, 9TH JANUARY, 1901.

---

W. J. C. MOENS, Esq., F.S.A., President, in the Chair.

---

THE Minutes of the Ordinary Meeting held on 14th November, 1900, were read and confirmed.

The following were elected Fellows of the Society :—

Captain Geoffrey Goyer Gilligan, Turret House, Southcote Road, Reading.

Eustace Edward Grubbe, Esq., 32 St. James's Place, S.W.

A paper was read by Mr. William W. Portal on "The Art of Papermaking in England as connected with the Huguenot Refugees; with special reference to the Family of de Portal in France, their settlement in England after the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes, and their subsequent association with the manufacture of the Notes of the Bank of England".



THIRD ORDINARY MEETING OF THE SESSION,  
1900-1901.

HELD AT

THE HOTEL WINDSOR, VICTORIA STREET,  
WESTMINSTER.

WEDNESDAY, 13TH MARCH, 1901.

---

W. J. C. MOENS, Esq., F.S.A., President, in the Chair.

---

THE Minutes of the Ordinary Meeting held on 9th January  
were read and confirmed.

Edward Robert Portal, Esq., Eddington House, Hungerford,  
was elected a Fellow of the Society.

A paper was read by Mr. Lionel Cust, F.S.A., Director of  
the National Portrait Gallery, entitled, "Some Information  
concerning Foreign Artists of the Reformed Religion working  
in London from about 1560 to 1660".

## SEVENTEENTH ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING.

HELD AT

THE HOTEL WINDSOR, VICTORIA STREET,  
WESTMINSTER.

WEDNESDAY, 8TH MAY, 1901.

---

W. J. C. MOENS, Esq., F.S.A., President, in the Chair.

---

THE Minutes of the Ordinary Meeting held on 13th March were read and confirmed.

Miss Georgina Fanshawe Martin, 5 Oxford Square, Hyde Park, W., was elected a Fellow of the Society.

The Annual Report of the Council was read as follows:—

*Report of the Council to the Seventeenth Annual General Meeting of the Huguenot Society of London.*

The Council much regret to report the loss of seven Fellows by death, and of ten by withdrawal, during the past year, making a total of seventeen, as against a loss of twelve in the preceding twelvemonth. On the other hand, they are happy to say that twenty-four new Fellows have been elected, so that there is a net gain of seven. The total number now on the list is 376.

Besides the subscribing Fellows who have died, the Society has also lost one Honorary Fellow, Dr. C. M. Dozy, the very able Secretary to the Commission pour l'Histoire des Eglises Wallonnes at Leyden. Dr. Dozy was elected in March, 1898, and always took a lively interest in the Society. He was most courteous and obliging in affording information whenever applied to, and the Council desire to record their sympathy with the Commission in the great loss his death has occasioned to both Societies.

It is again a matter of gratification to the Council to find that two more of the public libraries in the United States have become members of the Society, viz., that of Cornell University and that of Detroit. Their doing so not only shows that the interest of America in Huguenot history is

being maintained, but also that the publications of the Society are found of use and value on the other side of the Atlantic.

Another very gratifying proof of the appreciation of the publications, both by public institutions and private members, is the purchase of them during the past year to the amount of £63 1s. 6d., as shown in the Treasurer's accompanying balance-sheet. The total income of the Society has been £466 11s. 1d., and the total expenditure £445 18s. 3d., leaving a balance at the bankers' on the 31st December, 1900, of £20 12s. 10d. The invested capital now stands at £802 11s. 1d. 2½ per cent. consols, and the actual balance in hand this evening is £247 9s. 10d.

The Council desire to express their warm acknowledgment of the Society's indebtedness to the Treasurer, Mr. Roumieu, for his invaluable attention to the accounts during a period of now no less than sixteen years.

Since the last Annual Meeting the delivery of the First Part of the *Returns of Aliens in London* has been completed, and the editor, Mr. Kirk, is now seeing the Second Part through the press. The compiling of a full Index to the entire book is a very heavy work, but every effort will be made to issue it as soon as possible. The *Registers of the Nonconformist Huguenot Churches of Dublin*, edited by Mr. J. P. Le Fanu, are all-but finished, and the President's volume of the *Registers and History of the Dutch Church at Colchester* is also nearly ready. The third number of the sixth volume of *Proceedings* is all in type, and will be issued during the next few weeks.

With regard to future publications, Mr. Colyer-Fergusson has kindly offered to edit the third volume of the *Thread-needle Street Registers*, and the President with his usual energy has undertaken a volume of abstracts of the *Acts of Naturalisation* preserved in the House of Lords. The materials for this have been partly transcribed at the Society's expense, and for the remainder it is indebted to the generosity of Mr Wagner, who has placed his own copy at the editor's disposal.

In June last a very pleasant visit was paid to Canterbury, where the Society's first Summer Conference was held in 1887. The kindly and hospitable reception afforded by the various authorities and other friends, combined with fine weather, made the excursion extremely enjoyable for those who took part in it. It was, however, matter of great regret to the Council that so few Fellows attended; for, without

better support, it seems hardly worth while to attempt another meeting of the kind for some years to come.

Several excellent Papers have been read to the Society during the Session now closing, but the Council are informed by the Secretary that it is increasingly difficult to obtain such contributions. They therefore strongly appeal to Fellows to come forward with offers of Papers, so that timely provision may be made, not only for the immediate future, but also for later dates.

After the reading of the Report, the ballot was taken for the Officers and Council for the ensuing year, with the following result :—

*Officers and Council for the year May, 1901, to May, 1902.*

*President.*—William John Charles Moens, F.S.A.

*Vice-Presidents.*—Major-General Sir Edmund F. Du Cane, K.C.B., R.E.; Arthur Giraud Browning, F.S.A.; Robert Hovenden, F.S.A.; William Minet, F.S.A.

*Treasurer.*—Reginald St. Aubyn Roumieu.

*Honorary Secretary.*—Reginald Stanley Faber.

*Members of Council.*—George Beaumont Beeman; A. W. Crawley-Boevey; Frederick A. Crisp, F.S.A.; The Rev. William Dawson, F. R. Hist. Soc.; G. Beresford Fitzgerald, F.S.A.; Charles E. Lart; The Rev. G. W. Minns, F.S.A.; Sir Cuthbert E. Peek, Bart.; Sir Wyndham S. Portal, Bart.; William Wyndham Portal; Sir Arthur Vicars, Ulster King of Arms, F.S.A.; William Chapman Waller, F.S.A.

# ABSTRACT OF TREASURER'S ACCOUNT WITH THE HUGUENOT SOCIETY OF LONDON.

From the 1st January to the 31st December, 1900.

1900.	Dr.	£	s.	d.	1900.	Ca.	£	s.	d.
To Subscriptions from 276 Fellows . . . . .		289	16	0	By deficit from last year . . . . .		60	2	0
" " 1 " (in arrear). . . . .		1	1	0	" Cost of Printing and Distributing—				
" " 10 " (in advance) . . . . .		10	10	0	<i>Returns of Aliens, Part I.</i> . . . .		195	4	7
" Entrance Fees from 18 Fellows . . . . .		18	18	0	<i>Lasts of Fellows</i> . . . . .		9	7	6
" Composition Fees from 6 Fellows . . . . .		63	0	0	" Abstracting Naturalisation Acts . . . . .		2	12	0
" Sale of Society's Publications . . . . .		63	1	6	" Printing Notices and Circulars . . . . .		6	9	0
" One Year's Interest on Investment of Composi-					" Engrossing and Issuing Diplomas . . . . .		1	15	10
tion Fees, less Tax . . . . .		20	3	7	" Rent, Hanover Square (six months) . . . . .		7	17	6
" Various Receipts . . . . .		0	1	0	" Hire of Rooms, Hotel Windsor (three meetings)		3	3	0
					" Tea and Coffee after Meetings . . . . .		4	14	0
					" Insurance . . . . .		1	15	0
					" Stationery . . . . .		5	0	3
					" Postage . . . . .		20	5	1
					" Bank Charges . . . . .		0	1	0
					" Subscription to Congress of Archaeological So-				
					cieties . . . . .		1	0	0
					" Assistant Secretary's Salary . . . . .		50	0	0
					" <i>Summer Conference at Canterbury</i> —				
					Official Guests, Gratuities, etc. . . . .	£9	16	0	
					Printing Programmes, etc. . . . .	3	15	6	
							18	11	6
					" Cost of £53 1s. 9d., 2½ per cent. Consols (Broker-				
					age <i>nil</i> ) Investment of Composition Fees . . . . .		63	0	0
					Balance at Bankers' on 31st December, 1900 . . . . .		20	12	10
							£466	11	1
					22nd April, 1901.				

Examined with Vouchers and found correct,  
 CHARLES F. ROUSSELET.  
 ALBERT E. T. JOURDAIN.

NOTE.—The Society stands (1st January, 1901) possessed of a sum of £202 11s. 1d., ¾ per cent. Consols, representing the investment of the Life Composition Fees received from 78 Fellows since its inauguration.



The proceedings concluded with the  
*Annual Address of the President, W. J. C. Moens, Esq.,  
F.S.A.*

The good work done by the Dutch Society in collecting together and preserving the archives of the French churches of Holland has induced me once more to say a few words concerning the like documents and books of the French churches of London. It will be in the recollection of many Fellows present to-night who attended the second meeting of our Society on 15th May, 1885, that I then read a paper on the "Sources of Huguenot History," which is to be found in Part I. of our *Proceedings*. It was then considered that it should be "one of the objects of this Society to endeavour to recover the missing records of the French churches which have, with the exception of one or two, been dissolved". I added that "as the London churches for the most part gravitated to the Threadneedle Street Church, these books and registers should now be found in the archives of the then French church at St. Martin's le Grand (now Soho Square), which, in 1885, were in the keeping of the Trustees," and which were deposited then in the office of their solicitors. I gained access to these, stacked up in a great pile, and found what I then wanted, the first book of the *Discipline*. Sent back to the French church under the terms of the decree of the Court of Chancery, these valuable documents are now, or should be, at Soho Square, and some of them, having gone astray, have been recovered from France by one of our Fellows. Probably others of the series are still in France, otherwise it is difficult to imagine how the quotations in the paper of M. Pascal (already referred to to-night) from the Act book of the Consistory (1689-1709) could have been made without coming to the French church for that purpose. In his *French Protestant Refugees* (1846) Mr. J. S. Burn stated that the "Actes" of the vestry of the Threadneedle Street Church are contained in several thick volumes, commencing 2nd January, 1588. These are the groundwork of the history of the French churches of England, and the time has arrived to find out whether these valuable archives are available for study and research. Our Fellow, Mr. Hovenden, in the discussion arising out of the paper I had the honour to read in 1885, "urged that one of the earliest efforts of the Society should be directed to these documents". Difficulties were in the way of doing this, but may we not hope

that these are now removed, and that facilities may be given for arrangement and verification of the documents and books still existing at Soho Square? In 1885, or 1886, I was able to get access to a small quarto MS., apparently written after 1874, which detailed the registers and books of the Thread-needle Street Church, which should still be with them. The transcript I then took of this catalogue was on slips for better arrangement, but, unfortunately, lapse of time has in some way disarranged these slips, and apparently some have gone amissing. From what remain it appears that the following series should with others be forthcoming :—

	No.
Grand Livre des Anciens . . . . .	1765-1815 96
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This list is evidently incomplete, as the numbers on the registers show that many are not given, perhaps from the fact that some of the slips of the copy of the inventory have gone astray.

Mr. John Southerden Burn, author of *The History of the Foreign Refugees*, 8vo, 1846, and who was Secretary to H.M.'s Commission for Collecting Non-Parochial Registers of Baptisms, Marriages and Burials (now deposited at Somerset House), had access to the records of the foreign Churches of England. He states in his account of the French Church of London (p. 29), that "the first Conference [Colloque] of which a full account has been met with, was held in London, 19th May, 1581. In subsequent years, down to the year 1660, there had been thirty Colloques held at Canterbury, Norwich, Rye, Southampton, etc., they were latterly, however, exclusively held in London."

It is clear, therefore, that in 1846 the books containing the minutes of the "Colloques," or Conferences of the French churches of England were in existence.

The Act books or minutes of the Consistory "are contained in several thick folio volumes, commencing 2nd January, 1588," as described by Mr. Burn, page 31, *note*.

The volume containing the acts of 1689-1709 was apparently accessible to M. C. Pascal, as he quoted from it in his paper on the London French churches in May, 1900.

With regard to the joint meetings of the French and Dutch Congregations [called the *cœtus*], the minutes are preserved amongst the records of the London Dutch Church.

The two Churches thus met in 1560 (*Ruytinck Hist.*, 34):—

March 16 . . . . .	1603
. . . . .	1625 ( <i>Ruy.</i> 470)
February 5 . . . . .	1634-5
September 3 . . . . .	1641
May 13 . . . . .	1644
May 7 . . . . .	1646
September 20 . . . . .	1647

*Le Livre des Colloques et Synodes*, 1581-1654, edited by our Fellow, Mr. A. C. Chamier, was one of the publications of the Society (1890).

Vol. i. *Le Livre de Cætus*, 1575-1595 exists (Schickler, p. xxiv.), but vol. ii. appears to be missing.

Vol. iii. in 4to, 1649-1820, is noted by Baron de Schickler as apparently being in the London Dutch Church archives (p. xxvi).

The important register, the "*Livre des Conversions et Reconnoissances faites à l'Eglise Française de la Savoye*," 18 Mai, 1684-1702, has been transcribed by our Fellow, Mr. Beaufort, and presented to the Society at Paris.

From the list given by M. Henri Bordier in 1876, in the *Bulletin du Prot. Franç.*, xxv., 418 (*vide Les Eglises du Refuge en Angleterre*, Baron F. de Schickler, 1892, xxii.-xxiii.), of the archives of the London French Church before the Revocation, it appears that at that date they were fairly complete in the St. Martin's le Grand Church. Some were in the *armoires* in the Sacristy, but the greater part were then in a vault under it. The more important registers were then as follows :—

<i>Actes du Consistoire</i> , Vol. I.	Juin 1560-Mai 1565, fol.
Vol. II.	1571 — 1578
Vol. III.	1578 — 1588
Vol. IV.	1589 — 1614
Vol. V.	1615 — 1680
Vol. VI.	1680 — 1692

*Copie de lettres*, un livre, 1652-1695

Deux petits cahiers de Notes, 1649-1651

*Un livre de memoire*, 1632-1748 reconnaissances signées par les Réfugiés pour avances faites par la bourse des diacres.

*Livre des diacres* à partir du 2 Janvier 1648-9—les charges et offices des diacres ; ceux qui doivent tenir les plats aux portes, etc.

Registre des "personnes examinées pour participer à la Sainte-Cène avec les noms de leurs respondants," 1655-1691.

Registre des noms des "personnes qui ont demandé leur tesmoignage," 12 Avril 1674-1 Nov. 1685.

Registre de noms "des personnes à qui l'on donne des tesmoignages dans le Consistoire de l'Eglise Française de Londres," 27 Dec., 1684-2 Avril, 1749.

*Journal des Diacres*, 1626-1713.

Journal des Anciens, 1669-1725.

Livres d'Amendes, 3 Vols., 1680-1685, 1684-1688, 1685-1700.

Livres des pauvres réfugiés, 12 Vols., 1659-1785.

Registre des Membres de l'Eglise, 1669-1718.

It is added "la liste ci-dessus est nécessairement très incomplete".

M. Bordier stated in his notes that there were in 1876 some sixty folio registers and forty quarto do., on three shelves, besides many small ones in the drawers, and many other folio and quarto registers under the *armoires*. No inventory of these was to be found (Schickler, xxii., note).

From the sources at our disposal it is clear that it is impossible to state with any degree of accuracy what may be the condition of the French Church archives at the present time, but having certain evidence of what existed in 1846, 1874 and 1876, it may well be hoped that if any volumes or documents have been lent for purposes of study, it may be possible to trace and recover them.

The great question is whether the time has not arrived to make an effort on the same lines as those of the Dutch Society in 1852, and to endeavour to acquire, by loan or otherwise, the entire archives of the French Church dating before 1840, in order that they may be sorted, arranged and deposited at "La Providence," so that this valuable source of information concerning the Huguenot churches of England may be available for students. The history of these churches, especially those of London, since the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes, has yet to be achieved, and it is fervently to be hoped that one of our Fellows may come forward to take up this important and most interesting work.

With regard to our Sister Societies abroad :—

#### SOCIÉTÉ DE L'HISTOIRE DU PROTESTANTISME FRANÇAIS.

Some of the articles in the *Bulletins* of the past year concern the French churches of England, and are of importance.

*Bulletin*, série iv., No. 5, May, 1900, p. 261.—M. C. Pascal gives "Les Ordres du Consistoire de l'Eglise Réformée Française de Londres".

Before the Revocation (1685) there were twenty-six French churches in England, of which five were in London. This number was doubled, 1685 to 1715 (date of death of Louis



XIV.), making fifty-two churches in England, of which thirty were in London. From 1715 to the end of the time of Refuge five more were established. Thus fifty-seven French Protestant churches were in England, besides those in Ireland and Scotland.

By the Acts of the Consistory of the Mother Church of Threadneedle Street, 1689-1709, it was decided to defer the re-establishment of the Discipline by which the English French churches were confederated. Should, however, any urgent need arise for a meeting of a Colloquy, this remedy could be taken, "*le Colloque estant le juge et supérieur naturel de nos Églises*".

It was, however, considered that a "*Union de Gouvernement et de Dépendance*" was impracticable, as the different constitutions of their churches did not permit this.

A second place of worship was opened in 1687 in Spitalfields, which took its name from the Hospital of St. Mary founded in 1197. Spitalfields and its neighbourhood had no less than eleven churches to serve the needs of the numerous silk weavers established there.

The French churches of London, says M. Pascal, had nothing in common as regards religion with the Chapel de l'Hôpital Protestant Français, which was conformist with the Church of England. The Hospital received without distinction the poor and the donations of all the churches of the refugees, as well as of the conformist French Chapel Royal of St. James, whose Pasteur, Philippe Ménard, was in 1718 the first Chaplain and Secretary of the French Protestant Hospital.

In 1742 l'Eglise de l'Hôpital was replaced by l'Eglise Neuve, large enough to hold 1,500 worshippers, but for want of a sufficient congregation l'Eglise Neuve was closed in 1810, being occupied by the Wesleyans, as was l'Eglise de l'Artillerie by a Jewish congregation. The ministers of the Threadneedle Street Church preached alternatively in their own church and that of l'Hôpital.

The surveillance over the members of the Threadneedle Street Church was minute and rigorous, the result being that the *méreaux*, or tokens of being communicants, were often not sought for and even rejected. The congregation was most numerous from 1680 to 1712, and it was then the Consistory multiplied its orders, rules and prescriptions. There exists a curious manuscript of before 1710, concerning what the "*Pasteurs, anciens, diacres, fidèles et portiers de*

l'Eglise" should do or not do, being "Les ordres du Consistoire," in folio of twenty-six pages, with the date of each order in the margin.

Members of the Church were informed by the Elders if they were in a proper state to communicate, when the latter had satisfied themselves that the members had their *méreaux* with them.

The habits of the worshippers were curious as appears from the Orders. The congregation was exhorted not to leave the church before the benediction was given, and not to throng around the building after leaving it. Also "that the custom of eating in the church between the two sermons is indecent and shocks above everything the English," etc.

At the installation of each Lord Mayor and Bishop of London, the Consistory offered their congratulations with an offering of fifty ounces of silver. The Lord Mayor, on his part, invited them to a banquet at the Mansion House, and on leaving the Consistory gave six guineas for the servants. After 1705 the "lecteurs" of the two chief churches only attended alternately, and after 1721 the Lord Mayors dispensed with the invitation to dinner of the Consistory. His Worship then accepted the congratulations, refused the silver offering and did not invite as before.

The French Protestants of London were never Jacobites. In 1716, 7th June, they celebrated the suppression of the rebels (Earl of Mar at Sheriff's Moor) by a fête at Paddington—by eating, drinking, dancing, singing and perorations—as is described by a pamphlet containing descriptions and verses all in French.

In 1782 the Pasteur, Jacob Bourdillon, in his sermon on a jubilee given in the French Church of the Artillery in Spitalfields on the occasion of the fiftieth year of his ministry there, said: "Des vingt Églises, toutes florissantes, qui subsistaient à mon arrivée (1731) neuf ont été fermées, et des onze qui restent, quelques-unes tirent à leur fin; d'autres ne subsistent qu'à peine et par des secours étrangers; peu se maintiennent par elles-mêmes".

In 1841 another Pasteur, M. Charles Baup, having quoted much of this discourse by Bourdillon, said that of those eleven churches only three remained. "Many of the others (he said) are united with ours, and as the churches of les Quatre and of Quarre have adopted the English rite, we alone represent in London the French reformed churches."

The French service in the Threadneedle Street Church



was ended by this minister in his "Discours historique, prononcé dans le temple de Threadneedle Street le jour où le service divin fut célébré pour la dernière fois," and soon after he left England to exercise his ministry in Switzerland.

The Church of St. Martin le Grand, now in Soho Square, continues the service, which has existed in London since 1550, under the care of M. le Pasteur Dégremont.

These extracts from the very interesting paper of M. Pascal show that the time has come to arrange, extract and digest the archives of the French Church of London.

*Bulletin*, June, 1900, p. 281.—M. Th. Maillard contributes an interesting paper with map, etc., of "Les Routes de l'Exil du Poitou vers les Îles Normandes et l'Angleterre, le Guide Pierre Michant" (who was executed for this service, 8th May, 1715), following the studies of M. Ch. Bost on the same subject in other parts (*Bulletin*, xlvii., 507, 561, 634). The names of the refugees cannot but be very useful for genealogical work, and the itineraries are of great interest.

*Idem*, October, 1900.—M. le Baron F. de Schickler reviews the article on the word Huguenot by M. le Pasteur et Dr. Tollin in the *Reformiste-Kirchen Zeitung* (1899, Nos. 49-52). The learned doctor considers the word comes from the old German "Husginosz," in Dutch "Huisgenoot," which corresponds with Familiares, Socii, Genossen (confrères). Baron Schickler does not consider the matter as decided, but that there will be serious attention drawn to it, and also controversy.

*Idem*, January, 1901, p. 32.—The conditions of the Huguenot emigration to the Cape of Good Hope, 1687, from the Court papers 17 U., p. 207, Bibl. de Genève. West India Company of Holland. Free passage, and to take oath of fidelity. Must establish themselves at the Cape, settle down and work for their living. To live there five years, and if they wish to return they must pay for their passage back at fixed rates. To sell their produce to the Company.

#### COMMISSION DE L'HISTOIRE DES EGLISES WALLONNES DE HOLLANDE.

An important address on "l'Histoire de la Bibliothèque Wallonne de Leyde" was given by M. E. Bourlier, President, at the annual meeting of the deputies of the Walloon or French churches of Holland at Maestricht on 5th July, 1900,



SCIENCE OF SOCIETY'S PROCEEDINGS.

1858. The learned President gave the history of the acquisition and collection together of the archives of the Walloon churches in the Library of the Walloon Commission. This library, started in 1852, had for its origin the Walloon Dépôt of Leiden, consisting of the portions of the archives of the French churches deposited by one of the more important of these churches, the Synodal books and papers not generally mentioned in the Act of the Synod of September, 1790 (Act 34). The papers of the suppressed churches were thus the documents of the churches of the Walloon Flanders, etc., were preserved.

The Commission, named in 1849, presented its report at the Hague meeting in 1852, the chief point being the assignment of the Bibliothèque Wallonne to collect the materials for the history of the Walloon churches, the churches being expected to give voluntary contributions toward its means for the keeping up of the

Secretaries have been eminent men: M. W. N. Du Rieu, 1853 to 1878; M. W. N. Du Rieu, 1878 to 1896; M. Dozy, 1896 to 1901.

It has been most important and fruitful. A large number of books relating to the French churches have been acquired by gift, purchase and exchange, while the churches have deposited a large quantity of their registers of marriages, births and deaths. The registers of Holland but of Germany have been deposited and arranged in alphabetical order to the number of two millions.

Our sister Society in Holland has suffered a great loss. In preceding years those of the Society who were such as the Society of the Netherlands, M. Dozy, as Secretary and Director, have been in their place, but after a long illness they died in the month of January of this year. We have yet to find a successor to supply the very great loss which has been sustained, but to all those interested in

The address was addressed to M. Hoek at the meeting.

The series ii., tome 3, part ii., contains the presentations of medals connected

FIRST ORDINARY MEETING OF THE SESSION,  
1901-1902,

HELD AT

THE HOTEL WINDSOR, VICTORIA STREET,  
WESTMINSTER,

WEDNESDAY, 13TH NOVEMBER, 1901.

---

W. J. C. MOENS, Esq., F.S.A., President, in the Chair.

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THE Minutes of the Annual Meeting held on 8th May, were read and confirmed.

The following were elected Fellows of the Society :—

Herbert Mills Birdwood, Esq., C.S.I., LL.D., Dalkeith House, Twickenham.

Arthur Edmund Garnier, Esq., Quidenham, Attleborough, Norfolk.

Henry James Godin, Esq., Westwood, New Malden, Surrey.

Captain Henry R. Hardy, Thrift Hall, Waltham Abbey.

Hamilton John Hulse, Esq., Sandle Manor, Fordingbridge.

John Wynne Jeudwine, Esq., St. Mary's, Raleigh, North Carolina, U.S.A.

Mrs. Morris, 41 St. John's Wood Park, N.W.

Eric de Caux Tillett, Esq., 5 Laurence Pountney Hill, E.C.

The Library Company of Philadelphia, Philadelphia, Pa., U.S.A.

Mr. A. G. Browning, V.P., read a paper by Miss Ida H. Layard on "The Sieges of Lourdes during the Wars of Religion".

SECOND ORDINARY MEETING OF THE SESSION,  
1901-1902,

HELD AT

THE HOTEL WINDSOR, VICTORIA STREET,  
WESTMINSTER,

WEDNESDAY, 8TH JANUARY, 1902.

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W. J. C. MOENS, Esq., F.S.A., President, in the Chair.

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THE Minutes of the Meeting held on 13th November, 1901,  
were read and confirmed.

The following were elected Fellows of the Society :—

Webster Glynes, Esq., Vestry Hall, Minorities, E.C.

The Rev. Harold George Lainé, Bray Villa, Normanton,  
Derby.

Augustus John Lloyd, Esq., 78 Cromwell Avenue, High-  
gate, N.

Mr. G. B. Beeman read a paper entitled "Notes on the  
Collections in Aid of the Huguenot Refugees made under  
Briefs in the Reigns of Charles II., James II., and William  
III."

THIRD ORDINARY MEETING OF THE SESSION,  
1901-1902,

HELD AT

THE HOTEL WINDSOR, VICTORIA STREET,  
WESTMINSTER,

WEDNESDAY, 12TH MARCH, 1902.

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W. J. C. MOENS, Esq., F.S.A., President, in the Chair.

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THE Minutes of the Meeting held on 8th January were read and confirmed.

The following were elected Fellows of the Society :—

The Rev. Arthur Henry Sanxay Barwell, Prebendary of  
Chichester ; Clapham Rectory, Worthing.

Sir James Digges La Touche, K.C.S.I., Allahabad, India.

C. E. Melhuish, Esq., National Club, Whitehall Gardens,  
S.W.

T. Trevor White, Esq., Carlton Club, Pall Mall, S.W.

Mr. W. C. Waller, F.S.A., read a description of the  
Huguenot Memorial Window erected in the new Town  
Hall, Colchester, by Mr Wilson Marriage, Fellow of the  
Society and Mayor of Colchester.

Mr. A. G. Browning, F.S.A., read a continuation of his  
former paper<sup>1</sup> on "The Origin and Early History of the  
French Protestant Hospital".

<sup>1</sup> See *Proceedings*, vol. vi., p. 39.

EIGHTEENTH ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING,  
HELD AT  
THE HOTEL WINDSOR, VICTORIA STREET,  
WESTMINSTER,

WEDNESDAY, 14TH MAY, 1902.

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W. J. C. MOENS, Esq., F.S.A., President, in the Chair.

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THE Minutes of the Meeting held on 12th March were read and confirmed.

The following were elected Fellows of the Society :—

Walter Daniel Cronin, Esq., Woodcote, Cleve Road, West Hampstead, N.W.

Clément Adolphe Auguste Du Pontet, Esq., Tunstall House, Harrow.

Miss R. de Hoche-pied Larpent, 3 Hans Mansions, Basil Street, S.W.

Alexander Graham Low, Esq., 8 Pembridge Villas, Bayswater, W.

The Barr-Smith Library, University of Adelaide, Australia.

The Annual Report of the Council was read as follows :—

*Report of the Council to the Eighteenth Annual General Meeting of the Huguenot Society of London.*

Since the last Annual Meeting the Society has lost nine Fellows by death and eight by withdrawal, while twenty-one new Fellows have been elected, making a net gain of four. Among the Honorary Fellows, Mr. Henry G. Marquand, sometime President of the Huguenot Society of America, has died, and his place has been filled by the election of his successor, Mr. Frederic J. de Peyster.

The Treasurer's balance-sheet accompanying this Report shows a total income for the year 1901 of £485 10s. 8d. and an expenditure of £358 16s. 10d., leaving a balance on the 31st of December last of £126 13s. 10d. The actual balance this evening, after deduction of all liabilities, is

£171 19s. 2d., besides which the Society stands possessed of a capital sum of £857 16s. 9d. invested in  $2\frac{3}{4}$  per cent. Consols.

The issue of publications during the year has comprised the *Registers of the French Nonconformed Churches of Dublin*, edited by Mr. T. P. Le Fanu; the second part of the *Returns of Aliens in London*, edited by Messrs. R. E. G. Kirk and E. F. Kirk; and the third and concluding number of the sixth volume of *Proceedings*. The title-pages and index to this volume are now being printed, and will be issued with the annual List of Fellows.

During the seventeen years the Society has been in existence, there have been distributed fourteen quarto volumes in eighteen parts, and six octavo volumes in twenty-two numbers, and the Council venture to think that this is a very full equivalent for the annual guinea subscription. They gratefully acknowledge their indebtedness to the various editors and contributors of papers, without whose help they would have found it impossible to carry out so much valuable work.

The publications now in progress are the third volume of the *Threadneedle Street Registers*, edited by Mr. Colyer-Fergusson, and the *Registers of the Dutch Church at Colchester*. The latter would have been ready for issue some time ago, had not Mr. Moens found an unexpectedly large mass of material to be examined and condensed for the historical introduction he is writing for the volume.

In addition to these works, the Council have great pleasure in announcing that a generous offer has been made to them by the Duke of Bedford, which they have accepted with their warmest thanks in the Society's name. This is the inclusion in the quarto series of the *Register of the French Church at Thorney* in Cambridgeshire. The Duke was about to privately print this Register for his own use; but hearing that the Society was engaged in similar work, he most kindly proposed that it should form part of the series, he himself still defraying all the expense. The Council feel sure that the Society will cordially endorse their appreciation of his Grace's generosity. The work will be edited by Mr. Henry Peet, who has made a special study of the Thorney settlement.

After holding office for three years, the President is retiring; and the Council cannot let the occasion pass without giving emphatic expression of their sense of all they, and the

## EIGHTEENTH ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING

HELD AT

THE HOTEL WINDSOR, A  
WESTMINSTER

WEDNESDAY, 14TH

W. J. C. MOENS, Esq., F.S.A.

THE Minutes of the Meeting held at the Hotel Windsor, on the 14th inst., were read and confirmed.

The following were elected :

Walter Daniel Cronin, Esq.,

Hampstead, N.W.

Clément Adolphe Auguste Du

Harrow.

Miss R. de Hocheplé, Esq.,

Street, S.W.

Alexander Graham Low, Esq.,

Water, W.

The Barr-Smith Library, U

The Annual Report of the

*Report of the Council to  
Meeting of the Huguenot Society*

Since the last Annual Meeting, 1887, one new Fellow has been elected, and four have died. Among the deceased, M. de Marquand, sometime President of the Huguenot Society of America, has died, and the election of his successor has been deferred.

The Treasurer's balance sheet shows a total income of £100 and an expenditure of £50 on the 31st of December, 1887. The balance this evening is £50.

Attendance at nearly all the meetings has been very good. His valued help in the office as a Vice-President has long been a help to the Society.

1901.		Dr.		Cr.	
		£	s. d.		
To Balance at Bankers' on the 1st day of January		20	12 10	By Cost of Printing and Distributing Publications	
"	Subscriptions from 28 Fellows	295	1 0	"	Printing Notices, etc.
"	" 10 " (in advance)	10	10 0	"	Address to His Majesty the King
"	" 9 " (in arrear)	9	9 0	"	Engraving and Issuing Diplomas
"	Entrance Fees from 26 Fellows	27	6 0	"	Engravings
"	Composition Fees from 5 Fellows	52	10 0	"	Transcribing <i>Threadneedle Street Registers</i>
"	Sale of Publications	48	10 0	"	Hire of Rooms, Hotel Windsor (five meetings)
"	One Year's Interest on Investment of Composition Fees, less Tax	21	11 10	"	Tea and Coffee after Meetings
				"	Stationery
				"	Insurance
				"	Subscription to Congress of Archaeological Societies (two years)
				"	Bank Charges
				"	Postages
				"	Assistant Secretary's Salary
				"	Cost of £55 5s. 8d., 2½ per cent. Consols (Brokerage <i>nil</i> ) Investment of Composition Fees
				"	Balance at Bankers' on the 31st day of December, 1901
		£485	10 8		126 13 10
				24th April, 1902.	
				£485 10 8	

Examined with Vouchers and found correct.

L. H. Le BAILLY.

CHARLES F. ROUSSELET.

REGINALD ST. A. ROUMIEU, *Treasurer*.

NOTE.—The Society stands possessed of a sum of £587 10s. 9d., 2½ per cent. Consols, representing the investment of the Life Composition Fees received from 83 Fellows since its inauguration.



The President then delivered his Annual Address :—

*Annual Address of the President, W. J. C. Moens, Esq.,  
F.S.A.*

With regard to the proceedings of the Societies abroad, the forty-sixth General Meeting of the Société de l'Histoire du Protestantisme Français (No. 6, 1901, p. 281) was held at Ablon on the Seine et Villeneuve-Saint-Georges, 28th May, 1901, not very far from Charenton near Paris.

The President, M. le Baron de Schickler, in his address reported on the progress of the Society for the years 1899-1900 and 1900-1901. He recalled the feelings and emotions of the members who had that day evoked in the same place the echoes of what had occurred in times gone by, 300 years ago, collecting the vestiges of the old Huguenot congregation there and dreaming of its traditions, that by searching in the archives and throwing light on the actions of their predecessors more details of Huguenot history had been revealed.

Speaking of the rich treasures of the Library of the Society containing some 50,000 volumes, amongst which there are about 2,000 MSS., it was remarked that visitors inquired how such a collection had been got together. To the books of the late M. Emile Lesens of Rouen had been since added his valuable MSS. A collection of original documents on the Reformation at Béarn, the papers of Pasteur Paul Serre and transcripts of documents on the Refuge at Zurich had lately been added. Speaking of the second edition of "*La France Protestante*," still unfinished, Baron de Schickler remarked that a calendar of the 10,000 MS. pieces in the Library was indispensable in order to continue this, as well as a general index of the *Bulletin* to the end of the volume in progress.

The calendar was already entrusted to a distinguished student of the "*Ecole des Chartes*" and the index of the fifty years' *Bulletins* to April, 1902, to a sub-committee of three members of the Council. These achievements will throw volumes of light on Huguenot history as well as on personal details.

Amongst many interesting papers and particulars contained in the *Bulletins* of the French Society for the past year are some details concerning Antonio del Corro, so well known by his "*Tableau de l'œuvre de Dieu*," copies of which

are in the collections of the London Dutch Church, by M. Aug. Bernus.

Close particulars are found in the first part of the *Bulletin* for 1902 by Baron de Schickler concerning Jean Veron, who took refuge in England in the reign of Edward VI., and who joined in the early work of the Reformation here. Persecuted by Queen Mary he was imprisoned in the Tower, but later he expounded Calvinism in the time of Queen Elizabeth and was an active foe to the Church of Rome.

A curious account of the education of Huguenot children in France in the seventeenth century is given by M. Expert in the third part of the *Bulletin* of this year.

Concerning the derivation of the term Huguenot, M. Charles de Grandmaison proves by documents that the word was known as early as the year 1400 and thus very long before there was any Reformation regarding religion. It is found both as a masculine and feminine name, and this is considered to destroy for ever the supposed derivation from *eidgenossen* (confederates), and also to cause great doubt as to the term coming from *Huisgenoot* (companion, brother). M. de Grandmaison appears to have but little doubt that Huguenot is a diminutive of Hugues, as conjectured by Mahn.

The most important matter in connection with the Society of France is the coming celebration of its *Cinquantenaire*, 25th May to 1st June, the form of which will be a religious service, accompanied with ancient hymns and music, a banquet and exhibition of Huguenot objects. A most gracious and pressing invitation has been sent to me (as your President) and those of our Society who might like to attend by Baron de Schickler on behalf of himself as President and the Council of the French Society. I have duly responded to this with hopes that our Society will be represented.

We have full hope that General Gosset and Mr. Majolier, who are in France, with others will avail themselves of the kind invitation.

#### COMMISSION DE L'HISTOIRE DES EGLISES WALLONNES DE HOLLANDE.

In the only *Bulletin* received since May, 1901, M. E. Bourlieu, the President of this Society, gives an account of the life and doings of M. C. M. Dozy, their late lamented Secretary, with his portrait. Those only who had the pleasure of the personal acquaintance of this learned and ardent Huguenot

can realise the loss our sister Society has sustained by his death. At the annual meeting, held at the Hague on 27th June and following days, this loss, following that of M. Du Rieu, threw a deep shadow over the proceedings. It was reported that the library had so increased that greater assistance as regards the care of it was needed. The classification of the slips of the marriages and baptisms of the Reformed Church of Sedan is in progress, and also the supplement of the catalogue of the library. Copies had been made of some registers of the churches of Bleigny and Olne, deposited in the Archives of Liège, and a copy of the registers of the Church of Breskens had been presented to the Society. The long-promised printed index to the large collection of slips of all the French churches of the Netherlands is it is feared delayed by the loss of so many members of the Commission.

#### THE HUGUENOT SOCIETY OF GERMANY.

This Society continues the publication of many important papers on the various French churches of Germany. Those of Ludwigsburg by Pasteur Paret; Lüneburg (continuation iii.) by Pasteur Dr. Tollin, President; Hameln (continuation iii.) by Pasteur Villaret; lists of French refugee families at Hamburg, Merfelden, Arheiligen, Offenbach, Isenburg, Büdingen, Wächtersbach, Knittlingen, Heinsheim, Wiernzheim, Dürrenz, Gochsheim, and other places.

Biographies of the Pasteur François Dujon, born 1545, and of Pasteur Daniel Toussain, Sieur de Beaumont, born 1541, both ably written by Pasteur Fr. W. Cuno, and other papers on the Huguenots of Germany.

It is much to be desired that their excellent publications might be given in the French language and thus be more widely read.

Our sister Society of America last year issued a remarkably interesting and valuable volume on the tricentenary of the Edict of Nantes, copies of which were kindly presented to our Society and some of the Council.

Regarding the archives of our London French church, a report on the Act books of the French church of London, which were missing and have been recovered by the kind action of Mr. Majolier, will be of interest.

#### LIVRES DES ACTES DE 1571 à 1577, NUMBERED 2.

On a fly-leaf in a handwriting of the eighteenth century is, "Il manque vn Livre d'Actes depuis le Mois de May (sic)

1565, à Juin, 1571". In the list of Act books given by Baron de Schickler in the preface, p. xviii, of his *Eglises du Refuge en Angleterre*, 1892, is a list of the Act books lately at the French church: "Vol. I. Actes du Consistoire, vol. I., Juin, 1565, à Mai, 1568, in fol. 388 feuillets"; "vol. II. Actes de 1571 à 1578" (the register above mentioned); "vol. III. Actes de 1578 à 1588" (to Jan. 1578 to 2 Jan. 1588-9, complete), which is also amongst those recovered by Mr. E. Mayhew. As Mr. Gillen from whom these volumes were obtained in payment (he having received them from M. Massis), made an affidavit in oath that these four books were all that he had had, it is to be hoped that the remaining Act books to 1692 are still in the archives of the French church in St. John Square.

Vol. No. 2 commences 27 Juin, 1571, and ends 19 Sept., 1577. Vol. No. 3 commences 10 July, 1578, and ends 2 Jan., 1588-89. Several pages of vol. II. are therefore missing. This is confirmed by a memorandum on a blank fly-leaf at the end of the book, referring to pages 319 and 335, but the last MS. page is 308. The binding also shows that some pages have been removed, and this since Baron de Schickler inspected them. The writing is fairly legible, and as clear as the script of that time generally is. On the margins of the pages are the names of those to whom the Acts relate. The applications of those who sought to be received into the congregation are given, so that a register of the members could by application and diligence be made out.

The Act book, Jan. 8, 1692-1693, to 28 March, 1708, is a thick folio volume in vellum, unnumbered. This volume is not included in list of Registers of London French churches given by Baron de Schickler in his book on the French churches of England. An entry pasted on the inside of the first cover shows that the volumes were abstracted from the archives of the church after 9th July, 1888. This runs as follows:—

A. In the High Court of Justice, Chancery Division. In the matter of the French Protestant Church of London.

This is the Minute Book referred to in the affidavit of the Reverend Guillaume Gustave Daugars and Thomas Harvey, sworn the ninth day of July, 1888,

Before me,  
JNO. THOS. WHITE,  
A Commissioner, etc.

A collection of original documents concerning the French



church of London, copied in 1761. Folio volume bound in vellum, numbered 43 :—

- |     |     |      |   |
|-----|-----|------|---|
| No. | 1,  | Fol. | 1—The original Patent in Latin (24th July, 4 Edward VI.)  |
| "   | 2,  | "    | 6—Translation in French of the same.  |
| "   | 3,  | "    | 11—The original lease of the French Church of London (21 years from M <sup>mas</sup> , dated 16th Oct., 1550).  |
| "   | 4,  | "    | 12—Convention of the Dutch and French Churches concerning the use of the Church buildings.  |
| "   | 5,  | "    | 13—Representation of our Congregation to that of the Dutch after the Fire of London.  |
| "   | 6,  | "    | 16—Acts of the Cœtus, which prove that we have often claimed our right to the Temple of Jesus.  |
| "   | 7,  | "    | 22—Judgment of the Arbitrators concerning the Porch and the West Window of the [French] Church of London, 1st September, 1670 (question of lights, etc.). |
| "   | 8,  | "    | 25—Instruction of James II. to the Attorney-General and the Solicitor-General to draft a Patent for permission to build "l'Eglise de l'Hopital".          |
| "   | 9,  | "    | 27—Copy of the same.  |
| "   | 10, | "    | 30—Letters Patent of George II. authorising the building of a Church and Schools at the corner of Church Street and Brick Lane.                           |
| "   | 11, | "    | 34—Approval by Charles II. of the election of Mons. Michely as Pasteur.   |
| "   | 12, | "    | 36—Specimen draft of the request to be presented to the King to obtain his approval.  |
| "   | 13, | "    | 37—Another specimen draft.  |
| "   | 14, | "    | 38—Approval by King George III. of the election of Mons. De la Chaumette.   |
| "   | 15, | "    | 39—Important Act referred to in our representation to the Dutch (fol. 13), and which states our right and the agreement between the two Churches.         |
| "   | 16, | "    | 42—Copy of the address made to His Majesty [George III.] on the occasion of his marriage with the Princess Charlotte of Mecklenbourg-Strelitz.            |
| "   | 17, | "    | 46—The Address of Congratulation made to the Queen.   |
| "   | 18, | "    | 49—The Address of Felicitation made to the Princess of Wales.   |
| "   | 19, | "    | 50—The Attestation regarding the correctness of the copies of the above documents by the Ministers, Elders and Deacons.                                   |

No. 1.—The original letters patent, dated at Leigh, 24th July, 1550, with the great seal intact, is still preserved at the Austin Friars' Church. This charter gave to the superintendent and ministers of the German church and other strangers in London the church lately belonging to the Augustine Friars, to be called the Temple of Jesus, for the exercise of their customary rites, ceremonies and ecclesiastical discipline, although it might differ from those used in England. Frequently published, the best annotated copy is to be found

in Hessel's "*Archivum*" of the *London Dutch Church*, vol. iii., part i., page 4.

No. 3.—It being considered desirable in 1750 to renew the lease of St. Anthony's Church in Threadneedle Street, Pasteur Paul de Ladoüespe, MM. Henry Guinand, Louis Chauvet (elders), and Isaac Ardessoif and Jean Taylor (deacons), as deputies, went to Windsor to request the Dean and Chapter to extract from their registers a copy of the original lease of the church and vestry of St. Anthony's Hospital demised by the Dean and Canons to the superintendent, ministers, elders and deacons of the French and Dutch churches in London for sermons and administration of the sacraments for a term of twenty-one years from Michaelmas. This was dated 16th October, 1550. No further action appears to have been taken, as from the lapse of time and omission of subsequent leases the freehold had been acquired by prescription.

No. 4.—Act of the *Cœtus*, dated 3rd November, 1579. The Dutch church appear to have paid one half of the rent of the French church.

No. 5.—The French church having been destroyed by the Fire of London in September, 1666, the Consistory represented to the Dutch church towards the end of the above year that they should contribute towards the rebuilding of the church in Threadneedle Street for the following reasons:—

(1st) "Because by the rebuilding of it they shall be delivered of the trouble which they receive now by our preaching in the same church [Austin Friars] with them".

(2nd) "Because they are to make use of our church every month, and so it is but reason they help us in its rebuilding."

It appears that the French congregation had had the use for some time of the Dutch church on one occasion each month.

In 1573, 1st April, a meeting of deputies of the two churches was held at the house of Johannes Alasco in Bow Lane, when it was agreed that for the accommodation of the two congregations the Dutch should alone use the Temple of Jesus in consideration of that church repairing at their own cost the Chapel of St. Anthony and also paying one half of the rent paid yearly for it to the Dean and Chapter of Windsor. At the same time the French were to preach some time each year at Austin Friars to "keep and conserve their right to it".

The difference continued apparently until 1582, several

church of London  
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" 2, " 6—The  
" 3, " 11—The  
" 4, " 12—Con  
" 5, " 13—R  
" 6, " 16—Act  
" 7, " 22—  
" 8, " 25—  
" 9, " 27—  
" 10, " 30—  
" 11, " 34—  
" 12, " 36—  
" 13, " 37—  
" 14, " 38—  
" 15, " 39—  
" 16, " 42—  
" 17, " 43—  
" 18, " 44—  
" 19, " 45—

No. 1.  
July, 155.  
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The Majesty attempted  
the grants of ecclesiastical  
King Edward VI.,  
the church of the Austin  
The Prior, however, feared  
the rights of the  
and the Franciscans

did not reobtain their church, although the foreign congregation was dispersed.

By reference to the Acts of 14th July, 1560, some of the above facts were verified.

This note shows that there was an Act book earlier than the one (1565-1571) stated to be missing in an entry of a late handwriting on a fly-leaf of the book of 1571-1577, numbered 2, and the earliest of those lately recovered from France by Mr. Majolier. This however was in the archives of the French church in 1867 according to a list given by Baron de Schickler.

No. 8.—After the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes the congregation so increased in numbers that it was determined to build an additional church in Spitalfields; no better site could be found than that on which stood the hospital given to the French congregation for the use of their poor by Paul Docminicq and Marie Tordreau his wife, situated at the corner of Gray Eagle and Black Eagle Streets. By request, instructions were given to the Attorney and Solicitor Generals, dated at Windsor 31st July, 1687. In these instructions it appears that the site in question was held on a lease “for a good term of years,” being part of a field “called Longhedge Field” in the hamlet of Spitalfields in the parish of Stepney, upon part of which ground they had “certaine old almes houses” belonging to their church which they must pull down and rebuild anew on some part of the said ground. Prayer was made to erect “one Temple or Tabernacle” upon another part of the ground, bordering one side upon Black Eagle Street and the other upon Gray Eagle Street. The whole building to be “fifty-four feet broad and eighty feet long or otherwise as they shall designe for their convenience with regard had to the compass of their ground”.

No. 9.—Letters under the Privy Seal dated at Westminster 11th August, 3 James II. [1687], to the above effect were granted.

On the termination of the lease above referred to difficulties as to its renewal arose with the landlord and the necessity of a church in that quarter caused the Consistory to determine to purchase a new site. One was accordingly acquired in perpetuity for the sum of £900; part of this was provided by a late legacy of Mr. David Bosanquet of £500, which, with accrued interest, amounted to £700, the remaining £200 being provided by the generosity of Mr. Claude Bosanquet, son of the above.



letters passing, the last of which was from the French, stating that nothing could be done in the way of formal inquisition had been held on the subject of respective rights.

On page 21 is the significant entry :—

*N.B.*—Nothing more is spoken of in the text whence these extracts have been taken.

No. 15.—Extract from the Act by which Jacques Marabo, lately Elder of our Church, claiming the right we have to the Temple Church, against that of the Dutch, saying that the hal-

In the time of Edward VI. the Dutch, the "Cordeliers" (Augustines) all came to do services for the time of three months. They commenced, these preaching for some time in [? Christ Church], and then in the Temple. After that the Dutch and French came to a joint request to the Council for a licence to do so for both parties, fearing that the Council refused on account of the then war between France. M. Pierre Alexandre, however, came at the house of the Archbishop, and a licence was only made of the Dutch, addressed to the French. After having obtained Austin Friars for themselves first, which caused discontent among the twenty-four persons, viz., twelve in the house of Alasco in Bow Lane, and twelve in the Temple, that the Dutch should preach in the Temple, and that they would restore the French to the present French church where they were to hold service, and would pay them fifty pence a year; and, finally, in the year 1550, the French had to the Dutch church, and on the Sunday before St. John's Eve, 1550, for three years in King Edward's time, the session of Queen Elizabeth the Dutch refused to do so, though they did not frequent the church.

On the accession of Queen Mary II. through Parliament to recall all the property made by King Henry VIII. and desired to commence with the Austin Friars given to the strangers, and for their like property and to the strangers, so that nothing

to maintain a fifth minister. A fast is ordered to consider this matter according to our discipline in matters of this nature.

1st March, 1692-3.—M. Theodore Blanc was chosen to fill this office, and he signed the Act which provided £70 a year as pay. The appointment was confirmed by licence of William III., 22nd March, 1692-3. This was approved of formally by the Southampton church, 4th April, 1693, and Thorney Abbey, 2nd April, according to the discipline.

5th November, 1693.—Service to commence at 9.45 A.M.

24th February, 1694-5.—The Directors of the "Maison de Charité du Spittlefields".

19th May, 1695.—Marriages must be by licence or banns in the parish churches as well as announced in our church. This after consultation by Mr. Primerose with the Attorney General.

9th June, 1695.—Collection made for the galley slaves of Marseilles.

20th October, 1695.—Determined to preach at the hospital on the day of the Gunpowder Plot, 5th November.

15th December, 1695.—Marie Hesse, wife of Jean Havy.

12th January, 1695-6.—The Weavers' Company complain that many of the congregation work at their trade without regard to their guild or being admitted. They are determined, after due notice given, to prosecute such.

20th June, 1697.—The elders and deacons when signing the "billets" for baptisms to warn the parents to register them at the parish churches, paying 6d. and 2s. for King's tax.

2nd December, 1697.—Eight silver cups for use at the sacrament at the Church of London presented by Mr. Bosanquet, Mr. B.'s name to be engraved on each of these.

9th January, 1697-8.—Project of a congregation at the Savoy; resolved to have nothing to do with this.

17th April, 1698.—Resolved to get in all the books of the library that have been lent. To make a new catalogue. That one of the ministers shall take charge of the library every six months, at end of which time he shall get in all books lent and pass on the catalogue to his successor.

24th April, 1698.—Letter received from Mr. Fontaine, minister of the French church of Cork. Some one denied his ordination received at Taunton in 1688 by the ministers Dresby, Teviens [?], and blamed his wife for exercising a manufacture.

THE SOCIETY'S PROCEEDINGS.

1808. Jean Berton, de la Rochelle, young man,  
received as members. Told they must  
try to have more knowledge.

1808. - M. Pegorier, minister, and Mr. de  
saw on part of a congregation held at  
Lasec as deputies for some French churches on  
the town. That they had had nothing of  
the Savoy nor of that of Mr. Mesnard nor of  
that that we would join in remedying the  
disregard of the discipline. Matter

1808. Above refused. Against custom to  
be received from those not certified by their  
[under numbers.]

1808. Mr. Lordel desired to leave the church.  
placed in the hands of Mr. Strant the  
members of the church according to their

1808. Jean Jacques Bertran of Aubusson asks

1808. - Mr. Pegorier, minister of the  
fields.

1808. The church of Buckingham House [sic].  
1808. M. Frumeroze and MM. de Neu and Guy,  
held a meeting of some churches con-  
sider the establishment of a number of

1808. Report of above who had attended the  
deputies of other French churches of  
had been chosen to inform themselves  
at adjourned meeting informed  
and that two-thirds of the necessary  
except those of the French. Three

1808. sent to the locality. The two Con-  
This was annulled later, as members  
Church might go. Those who did

1808. Extraordinary meeting for relief of  
studies assisted.

1808. read complaints from the Company

1808. reported that Sr. Jacques Laborie  
and that he is established in the  
decided to warn the church of

Boston of the disorderly life of Laborie. It was said that Mr. Chardon, elder of the church of Boston, had written to Mr. la Cohe (? Coye) concerning this. It was resolved to ask Mr. Brulon to see the Bishop of London, and to ask him in his private name if he desired to inform my Lord Dollamou of the bad conduct of the said Laborie. He would do a work of charity, as Laborie is capable of causing disorder over there.

3rd September, 1699.—That Mr. Calandrin, minister of Geneva, might preach.

10th September, 1699.—Meeting of the Ministers of the Savoy and of the four churches of Leicester Fields and others as to four matters concerning the French churches generally.

24th September, 1699, page 198.—The French churches of London, the Savoy, the four churches of Leicester Fields, the church called l'Ancienne Patente, that of Blackfriars and the Chapel Royal of St. James—being assembled for proposition of unity.

14th January, 1699-1700.—The French Committee request the churches to arrange for two offices for relief of the poor. One on this side of the town and another on the other side.

21st January, 1699-1700.—This arranged on understanding that nothing is done affecting the churches without confirmation by the Consistories.

17th March, 1699-1700.—The Church of Crispin Street.

19th May, 1700.—The injunction of the Bishop of London, ordering them to inform him of the number of the French churches in London using the French discipline and liturgy, where they are established, and by what authority. Dated 14th May, 1700.

2nd June, 1700.—Answer of Mr. Primerose to the injunction of the Bishop of London:—

Besides our own church of Threadneedle Street, which has been since 1550, and a chapel of ease erected in Gray Eagle Street near Spittlefields, erected in 1687, there are eight in or about Spittlefields, *viz.*, one in Paternoster Row, one in Artillery Lane, one in Crispin Street, one in St. John's Street, one in Perle Street, one in Willow Street, one in Quaker Street, and one upon the Market House. There is one also in Blackfriars. There are also five in or about Leicester Fields and Soho, *viz.*, two in Berwick Street, one near Leicester Fields, one in Milk Alley in Dean's Street, one in St. Martin's Lane. "Those be all the churches known unto us where the divine service is made after the rites and manner of the French Reformed Churches. As far as the Right and Privilege

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Primerose with Mr.  
Simpson, who replied that  
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indulgence which was  
long, and that he would

1st French church

minister of the church of

he made his appearance

two chaldrons of coal,

he reported that 25s.  
of the *Leaves* which  
This money had been  
£2-3,

rose and Mr. le Key,  
Wickart, Dean of Windsor,  
asked him to assist as in  
he promised that when  
he would do what he

by Mr. P., *colle* con-  
sented the church to pay  
"it" could not preach  
and do what he could.

the conditions par-  
ticularly considered

by Mr. Primerose,  
the end of Act of 14th

Wickard advising  
Windsor to give a  
sum at £24 for forty  
last Committee

1st January, 1700-1.—Deacons served for three years.

Resolved to appoint a sixth minister.

19th January, 1700-1.—Town divided in quarters—Blackfriars, Southwark, Old Algate, Temple Bar, Whitechapel.

20th April, 1701.—Mr. Dupuy and one of the deacons made a list of all the legacies to the church which are in the book.

21st May, 1701.—Declaration to be signed by all Ministers of the French church of London as regards their duties. £70 pay when first elected.

M. Jacques Saurin of Nimes appointed Minister.

Page 285.—M. Saurin was ordained by the Bishop of London at Fulham Palace, 12th May, 1701, after a difficulty that had arisen by M. Saurin refusing to declare that he would use the Anglican rite only. This the Bishop after difficulty gave way to and the French minister had liberty to use the French liturgy.

20th June, 1701.—Approval of the King to the appointment of M. Jacques Saurin, dated 12th June at Kensington.

22nd June, 1701.—Letter from church of Dublin signed by Messrs. Bulaquier and Davassus (Ministers), J. Boyde and Etienne Marie (elders), reporting the trouble the church was in through schism.

23rd November, 1701.—Melchisedeq Gosset of Cerisy in Basse Normandy declared that he had made his "reconnaissance" in France before a Minister, and that he had communicated twice. Acknowledged him and gave him a "mareau".

23rd November, 1701.—A letter from Carolina asking for a Minister. Answer asking for funds for the journey of one.

30th November, 1701.—The new church of la Pierre de Londres. The church of "la Petite Patente" of Soho.

2nd February, 1701-2.—Salaries of MM. Testast, Bertaux and Saurin raised to £100 a year, and to pay Mr. Primerose £100 also in consideration of his long services.

13th July, 1702.—Resolved to rearrange the duties of the library, and to clean the dust from the books. Mr. Primerose engaged to make a catalogue and to take charge for a year, after which the other Ministers would do so by turns.

19th July, 1702.—The quarters of New Algate, Old Houndsditch and New Shoreditch allotted to members of Consistory.

19th July, 1702.—The Dutch church lent to the French congregation the rest of the week and on Sunday at 11 [A.M.] and evening at 5 o'clock, while the Threadneedle

Street Church was being whitewashed and repaired gallery at end, etc.

23rd August, 1702.—150 guineas acknowledged by the galley slaves of Marseilles, sent by London French church for their aid, by a letter "fort Chrestienne and fort édifiante".

11th January, 1702-3.—Named as elder, David Garric of Montpellier.

20th January, 1702-3.—The quarter of Bishopsgate assigned to Mr. Garric, that of Cripplegate to Mr. Didier, and Old Shoreditch to Mr. Hoquet.

6th March, 1702-3.—M. Quick returned the 25s. paid him as subscription for the book called *Icones*, which he proposed to give to the public, his indisposition compelling him to refrain from printing it. (*Vide* Act of 16th November, 1700.)

12th May, 1703.—An Act concerning occasional conformity with English Church. (*Vide* Cœtus, Acts of November previous, Resolution of House of Commons referred to. Dutch and French Churches acted together.) [An important Act.]

22nd July, 1703.—The quarters of Old Houndsditch and the New Hospital.

25th July, 1703.—Letter from Southampton reporting a grave quarrel between the Minister and his Walloon Church there.

2nd August, 1703.—Another letter as to above, the elders and heads of families declaring that Mr. Cougot, their minister, talked of abandoning the French liturgy and asked for advice.

18th August, 1703.—Resolution of the two Consistories of London to write to Mr. "Ouilard," Dean of Winchester, to do what he could to reunite the two parties at Southampton, also to write to Mr. Cougot to ask him to answer our letter.

30th August, 1703.—Southampton. That Consistory pray that a Minister should be sent to them. This considered inexpedient; that a Colloquy should be assembled to examine into the differences.

12th September.—Southampton. 17th Idem.

26th September, 1703.—Mr. Thomas and Mr. Soré, members of the Southampton church, came to us to ask for advice. Refused as long as our letter was not answered.

10th October, 1703.—A letter received from Lord Galway concerning the division in the church of Southampton,

asking advice. Answer that Mr. Cougot had given a new Act agreeing afresh not to change the liturgy of his church. That we would write again to the chief families. That if Lord Galway could arrange to change the opinion of the Consistory, by his advice things might go better.

31st October, 1703.—Letters from private members of the church of Southampton.

29th January, 1703-4.—Fast on occasion of the “horrible tempeste” which made such ravages in the town and considerable part of the kingdom and neighbouring countries in the night of 26th and 27th November last.

Collection for the 3,000 persons of Orange banished on account of religion by King of France.

29th January, 1703-4.—Letter from Lord Galway to say that he had reconciled those of Southampton and their Minister, Mr. Cougot.

23rd January, 1703-4.—Letter to thank Lord Galway for his services at Southampton.

28th January, 1703-4.—Act (long) concerning collections and affairs of those of Orange.

29th October, 1704.—Le Sr. Paul Berthon de Chatellerault presented himself to the Company coming from France; that he was of age of discretion and had had no communion with the Church of Rome, and requested to be admitted to our communion. He was found to be sufficiently instructed to be received in the congregation as Protestant, but if he desired to communicate, he must address himself to a Minister of this church, to know if he is capable of participating.

19th November, 1704.—Notice of Cœtus concerning the Bill of Uniformity.

6th February, 1704-5.—Mr. Baldy, Minister of French church of Norwich.

11th, 17th March, 1704-5.—Great scandal in the church of Norwich.

18th March, 1704-5.—The collection in the two churches came to £288 15s. 7d.

25th March, 1705.—After deliberation of 18th January last, the treasurers have employed the sum of £397 7s. 11d., to take eighty-five tickets of the lottery of £1,000,000, which have six years to come (venir) at £4 11s. each six years, of which the numbers are :—



No. 127—25

675—10

958—10

959—10

1,912—10

2,144—10

2,182—10

The said tickets being benefited, they would receive each six months £42 10s. The said tickets are placed with Mr. Grubert.

9th July, 1705.—Matthieu Lys, de Bois en Scaintonge, appointed deacon.

29th July, 1705.—Norwich Church : their needs.

25th November, 1705.—Letter from Mr. Cougot, Minister of Southampton. Clergy of the town wished him not to marry any who had not certificates of three banns in their parishes. Answer sent.

13th January, 1705-6.—The treasurer to arrange for the dinner "qu'on doit faire" on the day of election of the elders and deacons.

20th January, 1705-6.—The quarters of Bishopsgate, St. Catherine's, New Algate, New Shoreditch.

13th March, 1705-6.—The catalogue of elders and deacons, being a list of all the members in their quarters whether rich or poor. All said have tickets of membership.

31st March, 1706.—Mr. Roussignac admitted his fault in translating into French a book of Mr. Penn, in which he justified the doctrine of Quakers.

19th May, 1706.—Act concerning the French and English committee for relief of distressed refugees.

25th May, 1706.—Members received into the church the Sunday of each month.

1st July, 1706.—A clock bought to regulate the services of the consistory. The old one sent to l'Hôpital.

1st July, 1706.—Each member on reception shall report to the elder of the quarter where he lives. The elder shall inform the congregation.

1st July, 1706.—Members made of those who will not contribute to the church.

1st July, 1706.—A letter from the Secretary of State, Mr. ... to effect that the Queen is informed that ... censure her conduct, and that Her ... criminally if they do not reform ... mentioned in the sermon.

27th September, 1706.—Letter from Bishop of London concerning reputed prophets, and reply.

1st January, 1706-7.—The church to be insured.

2nd January, 1707.—*La femme du bonnet Français*.

30th March, 1707.—Mr. Portal to preach.

Idem.—Savoy Church.

6th April, 1707.—The Society of "Gargons Tallemans".

13th April, 1707.—Bishop of London and prophets.

7th April, 1707.—Lord Lifford, with Messrs. Le Coq and St. Leger, having been introduced to Lord Sunderland, Minister and Secretary of State, were presented to Her Majesty Queen Anne and presented an address signed by a great number of the French strangers, acknowledging Her Majesty's protection and charitable aid. This was graciously received, the answer being given in English as follows:—

"I have always had a great compassion for the unhappy circumstances of the persecuted Protestants of France. I will communicate my thoughts upon this matter to our allies, and hope such measures may be taken as may effectually answer the intent of your appeal."

This appeal was to promote the endeavours made by the French church as by an entry in the Act book of 20th April, 1707. Mr. Le Coq was directed to prepare a *memorandum* to further the measures taken by the Consistory of the London French church for protection of the Protestants in France when peace was made. [Religion and politics went hand in hand then as they do now in some churches.]

29th June, 1707.—Concerning Queen's brief: Solicitor General's opinion. Foreign churches not named in the Act, but they should join with the English congregations. Resolved to read the brief and have some one at each door of church to receive what might be given.

20th July, 1707.—Quarters of St. Helen's, New Temple Bar, Old Algate, New Houndsditch.

20th July, 1707.—Savoy Church.

23rd July, 1707.—Three persons of our nation who pretend that the Spirit or Angel of God inspires them, etc., etc.

10th August, 1707.—Isaac Haüy, one of the pretended prophets of Cevennes, surprised when receiving the communion in our church. He had been a "lecteur".

24th August, 1707.—Mr. Portal, Minister.

1st October, 1707.—Concerning usage of mereaux in our churches.

29th October, 1707.—The will of Benjamin de Jenne, late of parish of Hackney, citizen and haberdasher, dated 31st August, 1705, left half of residue to Threadneedle Street Church, equal to £221 9s. 11d.

12th November, 1707.—Paul Richard, native of Coze, asks to be admitted member.

14th December, 1707.—Jacques Bertrand complained of.

31st December, 1707.—Moses Bertrand (?) deacon.

15th February, 1707-8.—Savoy Church.

20th February, 1707-8.—Sr. Louis du Garnier asks to be admitted member.

20th March, 1707-8.—Desirable to obtain an Act of Parliament for general naturalisation of the French Protestant refugees. [A long Act.]

Examined to end of this volume of Acts, 1693-1708.

At the conclusion of the President's Address the ballot was taken for the Officers and Council for the ensuing year, with the following result:—

*Officers and Council for the Year, May, 1902, to May, 1903.*

*President.*—Arthur Giraud Browning, F.S.A.

*Vice-Presidents.*—Major-General Sir Edmund F. Du Cane, K.C.B., R.E.; Robert Hovenden, F.S.A.; William Minet, F.S.A.; William John Charles Moens, F.S.A.

*Treasurer.*—Reginald St. Aubyn Rounieu.

*Honorary Secretary.*—Reginald Stanley Faber.

*Members of Council.*—George Beaumont Beeman; Lieut.-General Stephen H. E. Chamier, C.B., R.A.; T. C. Colyer-Ferguson; Frederick A. Crisp, F.S.A.; the Rev. William F.R. Hist. Soc.; G. Beresford Fitzgerald, F.S.A.; John Martineau Fletcher; Major-General M. W. E. Gosset, F.S.A.; Charles E. Lart; Henry Merceron; the Rev. G. W. Portal, F.S.A.; William Wyndham Portal.





SCHADE LEER V.  
 SONNET.

De sonde heeft wel in het aensien wat se hijn  
 Van wilde en vrught, daer zy swaerles dienaar  
 Lijfgh by loet, als met ghesong en snaeren  
 Maer onder thoet seyt schadeleek veryn.  
 Wat groeter grief comt wt misbryck van wyn?  
 Is vreckheyt niet den buel van die goet garen?  
 Gheeft hoerdom niet menigh schendigh beswaren?  
 Wat sondaer doel kander weldigh ghesijn?  
 Oock dat meer is naer des bedroefde vrught  
 Volghet haeren loon, die ewighe doot, dies menighde  
 Ghy daer by sien of zy gheeft wat profijts.  
 Schuwt dan de sonde, end volghet rust na de duighde  
 Die ziele, gheeft, end liet haem maect verheughde.  
 SCHADE LEER V. wys te werden in eyts.

Dñõ Emanueli Demetrio in mutua amicitia tessera  
 statuit hoc Symbolum Nomis Junij 1576. Lon  
 Lucas Abrecht pictor Gan

## Foreign Artists of the Reformed Religion Working in London from about 1560 to 1660.

By LIONEL CUST, F.S.A.,  
DIRECTOR OF THE NATIONAL PORTRAIT GALLERY.

IN bringing before the notice of the Fellows of the Huguenot Society some notes concerning certain artists of note, of foreign extraction, who were settled in England during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, and who belonged to the reformed religion, it is not my intention to waste time upon any remarks about the various events which led to those singular and important immigrations into this country which this Society is formed to commemorate. These events are part and parcel of its history, and need no further description on my part.

Having for many years been interested, in connection with my work at the British Museum and the National Portrait Gallery, in investigating the history of art in England, and having also been called upon to contribute a great number of biographies of artists to the *Dictionary of National Biography*, I have been able to put together a number of details, which I hope may prove interesting, concerning certain artists of importance, about whom the Society may be glad to be informed.

The information, moreover, which I have embodied in these notes has been derived principally from the Society's own publications, especially its invaluable series of registers, beginning with the registers of the Dutch Reformed Church, Austin Friars, London, edited by the Society's president, Mr. Moens, in 1884.

My notes relate to certain foreign artists, who will be divided into three classes :—

I.—Netherlandish artists, who took refuge in this country on account of religious persecution.

II.—Netherlandish artists of the reformed religion, settled



in England, but not necessarily on account of religious persecution.

III.—French artists of the reformed religion, settled and working in England, prior to the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes.

After the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes in 1685, there came over in the great immigration to England a number of working artists, who settled in London, and, in some cases, founded some of our leading Huguenot families. They are sufficient in themselves to form a subject for special study, and do not come within the periods to which I have given special attention.

An interesting note on the fine arts in England is given by Francis Meres in his *Wit's Treasury*, published in 1598 in London. Meres writes :—

As learned Greece had these excellent artists, renowned for their learning, so England has these, Hilliard, Isaac Oliver, and John de Cretz, very famous for their painting. So as Greece had moreover their painters, so in England, we have also these, William and Francis Segar brethren, Thomas and John Bettes, Lockie, Lyne, Peake, Peter Cole, Arnolde, Marcus (Garrard ?), Jacques de Bruy, Cornelius, Peter Golchi, Hieronimo (de Bye ?), and Peter van de Velde. As Lysippus, Praxiteles and Pyrgoteles were excellent engravers, so now are these engravers, Rogers, Christopher Switzer and Cure.

Some of the artists mentioned here by Meres will be recorded in the following pages. Those who are curious in the matter can obtain some information about others in the pages of the *Dictionary of National Biography*.

The first group of artists to which I will direct attention comprises those who took refuge in England in 1567 and 1568 in consequence of the cruel severity of the Duke of Alba, and his determination to put down the reformed religion in the Netherlands.

LUCAS D' HEERE.

First and most important of these was the poet-painter of Ghent, Lucas d'Heere.

I have already on three separate occasions published notes upon this interesting artist :—

1. In a biography contributed to vol. xiv. of the *Dictionary of National Biography* in 1888.

2. In a paper contributed, with illustrations, to the *Magazine of Art* in 1891.

3. In a paper read before the Society of Antiquaries on 10th March, 1892, and published in *Archæologia*, vol. liv.

I have little, therefore, to add to what will be found in these notices of Lucas d'Heere.

It may interest the Society, however, to know a few details of his coming to England.

Lucas d'Heere was born at Ghent in 1534, the son of Jan d'Heere, a well-known architect and statuary, and Anna Smijters, a noted miniature painter.

He was placed as a pupil with the famous painter, Frans Floris, at Antwerp, and became one of the chief exponents of the loose, decadent Italo-Flemish school, of which Floris was the head; though as a portrait painter, the branch of art in which he really excelled, he displayed the correctness and tightness which is characteristic of Flemish art.

D'Heere seems to have originally been glad to serve King Philip II. of Spain, and it is possible that he was employed by Philip in England and by Queen Mary, inasmuch as the portrait of Queen Mary, belonging to the Society of Antiquaries, which bears D'Heere's accepted monogram, is dated 1554. Other English portraits bearing the same monogram bear dates up to 1559, and even as late as 1565.

There is, however, no documentary evidence that D'Heere was in England at this date.

In 1559 he was certainly at Ghent, and assisting his father in decorating the Church of St. Bavon for a Chapter of the Order of the Golden Fleece.

His chief patron was Adolph of Burgundy, Seigneur of Wacken, an admiral of the fleet. In 1565 D'Heere published a volume of poems dedicated to his patron, among which are some verses addressed to a young lady named Eleanora Carbonier, whom D'Heere afterwards married.

This young lady was the daughter of Pieter Carbonier, magistrate of the town of Veere (or Tervere) in Zeeland, near Middelburg. Was it love for Eleanora Carbonier which led Lucas d'Heere to embrace the reformed religion?

He was a prominent member of one of those "Chambers of Rhetoric" which were so obnoxious to Alva and his fellow-tyrants. This particular society, known by the name of "Jesus with the Balsam Flower," compeered as members such well-known men, besides Lucas d'Heere, as Marcus van Vaernewyck, the historian, Abraham Ortelius, the geographer, Hubert Goltzius, the numismatist, Peter Dathenus, the famous ex-Carmelite monk and preacher, the poets Utenhovius and Lampsonius, and others. Here was a hotbed of the reformed religion.



In 1565 Lucas d'Heere published a translation of Clement Marot's version of the Psalms of David, and in the following year wrote an introduction to the Psalms published by Dathenus. This year, 1566, was marked by the iconoclastic outbreak in Ghent in which so many works of art, including those of Jan d'Heere and his son, perished. Lucas d'Heere became a marked man, and in 1568, when Alva instituted his Blood-Council, Lucas d'Heere and his wife were among those proscribed by name at Ghent.

They fled to England, and were joined, it would seem, in 1571 by Pieter Carbonier and his family.

Curiously enough there are hardly any traces of Lucas d'Heere's work as a painter during the eight years he had spent as an exile in London.

In 1571 he was made an elder of the Dutch Church in Austin Friars, and his name appears in a return of Aliens in London in May of that year as living in the parish of St. Christopher's in the ward of Broad Street.

Lucas De Here, a painter, an householder, of the Dowche nacion, and hath byn here iii yeares, also his maide, of the same nacion, and hath byn heare one yeare [*Cal. State Papers, Dom. Ser. Eliz.*].

In another return for November of the same year of "Straungers wythin London and Southwark," there occurs in the parish of St. Benet Fink a notice of Marques Stacey, broker, a Frenchman, and the inmates of his house. The latter include

Lucas de Here, painter, Ellinor his wyfe, and a boye borne in Gaunte, cam hither fyve yeres ago for religion, and be of the Douche Church, John de Cr[ . . ]ttes his servaunte, borne in Andwerpe, and hath byn here iiij yeres. Boys (*sic*) Carboners, his wyves syster, borne in Terver, hath byn here about ij monethes, and Markin Cupen, a childe of v yeares olde, be all sojourners within the howse of the foresaide Marques Stacey [*Cal. State Papers, Dom. Ser. Eliz.*].

In 1574 D'Heere's sister-in-law, Louise Carbonier, was married, on 25th May, at the Dutch Church, Austin Friars, to an individual well known to students of the reformed religion, Charles Ryckwaert, alias Theophilus, of Nieuwerk (or Neuve-Eglise), who had been banished in 1567 for establishing the reformed church at Ypres, and became minister of the Dutch Church at Norwich. Some interesting details concerning Theophilus will be found in the account of the Walloons and their church at Norwich published by Mr. Moens in 1888.



On 31st May, 1576, Lucas d'Heere and Louise Ryckwaert were witnesses at the baptism of Susanna, daughter of Pieter de Drossaert in the Dutch Church, Austin Friars.

Lucas d'Heere was a man held in high estimation by his contemporaries. Among his friends was the celebrated Philip Marnix van Ste Aldegonde, who recommended D'Heere to the notice of William, Prince of Orange. On 6th July, 1576, that prince addressed a letter from Middelburg to Lucas d'Heere in London, begging him to act as his agent in certain negotiations with Sir Francis Walsingham and Queen Elizabeth.

In the same year (1576) occurred the pacification of Ghent, and in 1577 Lucas d'Heere and his wife returned to Ghent, where he was appointed to an honourable position in the household of the Prince of Orange. With his subsequent career we are not concerned to-day. In the University Library at Ghent there is an interesting volume of drawings containing figures in water colours, said to have been made for a series of paintings in a gallery of a house belonging to Edward, Lord Clinton, Lord High Admiral. It contains certain drawings of English costumes, and at the end a drawing of a Greenlander, entitled, *Homme Sauvage amené des pays Septentrionaux par M. Furbisher, l'an 1576*; and another representing a naked Englishman, uncertain what costume to put on.

In the same library is an Album Amicorum, which formerly belonged to Jan Rademaker, a well-known member of the reformed church in London. This volume contains an ode addressed to Rademaker by Lucas d'Heere, in London, on 1st January, 1576(7), and also verses on the death of Dr. George Wybot, pastor of the Belgian Church in London, and on the crest of Sir Thomas Gresham. In the same returns of Aliens for 1571 occur the names of

John Rothermaker of Anwerpe, merchaunte, and hath been iij yeares in London,

residing in the parish of St Nicolas Acons, Langbourne Ward, and also of

George Wybo, a ministre of the Duch Church and his wif,

residing in the Tower Ward.

It is noteworthy that in the registers of the Dutch Church there are two entries of the marriage of Catherine d'Heere,

# HUGUENOT SOCIETY'S PROCEEDINGS.

daughter of Lucas d'Heere. On 23rd May, 1592, she was married to Jaques Franssens, of Antwerp, and on 1607, she remarried, as widow of Jaques Franssen. Anna, no doubt a relative of the said Dr. George

Boileau Library at Oxford, among the MSS. belonging to Mr. Douce, is another Album Amicorum, which belonged to the famous historian, Emanuel Van Meteren, so well known to all members of the Society. On one page of this book is an autograph of Van Meteren, with a drawing of a siren, written by him in June, 1576, of which I am able to give a reproduction.

Portrait of D'Heere, says :—

« Un homme d'un jugement habile peintre, mais encore bon musicien, savant chronologiste, fut versé dans les langues grecques, dont il s'était fait un assez beau fonds. C'était un des plus beaux génies de son temps ».

## WEST-INDIAN CHURCH, AUSTIN FRIARS.

### BAPTISM.

1607. Susanna f. Pieter; test., Lucas d'Heere, Pieter Ryckewarts, etc.

### MARRIAGES.

1607. Theophylus v. Nieukerke met Catheline d'Heere.  
1608. Theophylus v. Nieukerke met Catheline d'Heere.  
1609. Theophylus v. Nieukerke met Catheline d'Heere.

## WEST-INDIAN CHURCH, AUSTIN FRIARS.

Among the strangers applying for baptism, the son of Lucas d'Heere.

### BAPTISM.

1607. Theophylus v. Nieukerke met Catheline d'Heere.

1608. Theophylus v. Nieukerke met Catheline d'Heere.  
1609. Theophylus v. Nieukerke met Catheline d'Heere.  
1610. Theophylus v. Nieukerke met Catheline d'Heere.

1  
11  
B1  
11  
11

*temporibus erumnosis*, by Georgius Hoefnagle. At the time when Emanuel Van Meteren suffered so much loss during the sacking of Antwerp, Hoefnagel and Rademaker were his chief protectors.

Joris Hoefnagel of Antwerp, born 1545, was the son of rich parents, and, like Lucas d'Heere, was both painter and poet. Skilled as a draughtsman and as a miniaturist, he travelled in Spain and elsewhere. On 3rd November, 1576, he lost all his possessions at Antwerp in the Spanish Fury. A month later he made the above entry in Van Meteren's album. Hoefnagel then travelled in company with the famous cosmographer Abraham Ortelius to Augsburg, Munich, Venice, Innsbrück and Vienna. At one time he visited England and remained here some little time.

We owe to Hoefnagel some interesting works, published in G. Braun's *Civitates Orbis Terrarum*, in which he collaborated with Franz Hogenberg, the engraver. Among these are views of Nonsuch Palace, drawn in 1582, of Bristol, of Windsor Castle and of Oxford. There is an interesting painting at Hatfield representing a marriage-feast at Bermondsey which was painted and signed by Hoefnagel.

It is noteworthy that the first minister of the foreign reformed church at Dover was named Gilles Hoefnagle, and it can easily be supposed that he was a relative of the artist.

Jacques Hoefnaghel is mentioned among the Merchaunt Straungers in London in January, 1571-72.

A paper on Joris Hoefnagel was read at the Society of Antiquaries on Thursday, 21st February, 1901, by Mr. Philip Norman, and was published in the *Archæologia*, vol. lvii., part 2, p. 321.<sup>1</sup>

His sister married Christian Huyghens, and was mother of the celebrated Constantijn Huyghens.

JODOCUS HONDIUS.

The name of Ortelius, the cosmographer, leads one easily to that of another famous map engraver and cosmographer, Jodocus Hondius or Joos De Hondt.

Born at Waeken, in Flanders, Jodocus Hondius, son of Olivier and Petronilla De Hondt, was brother to a famous engraver and printseller, Hendrik Hondius, into whose career, however, there is no call to go at present.

Jodocus Hondius was brought up at Ghent, where he must have known Lucas d'Heere and his family. Although he

<sup>1</sup> See also Fétis, *Les Artistes Belges à l'Etranger*, i., 84; Carel Van Mander's *Leve des Peintres*, ed. H. Hymans, ii., 74; De Navorscher, xxii., 260-9.



was patronised by Alessandro Farnese, Jodocus Hondius embraced the reformed religion, and took refuge like D'Heere in England, where he settled in London as a map engraver, typefounder, mathematical instrument maker and engraver. His celestial and terrestrial globes became famous, and graced many a nobleman's library. He was associated with the cosmographer Gerard Mercator, and engraved some of the earliest maps of England. He also illustrated the voyages of Drake and Cavendish, and engraved their portraits among others.

He married at the Dutch church, Austin Friars, on 11th April, 1587, Coletta Van der Keere, of Ghent, and had thirteen children.

In 1594 or thereabouts Hondius removed to Amsterdam, and established himself there as the successor of Gerard Mercator. He died at Amsterdam in 1611.

#### REGISTERS, DUTCH CHURCH, AUSTIN FRIARS.

##### BAPTISMS.

1595, 6 July. Hont de Abigail f. Joos.  
 1573, 20 Dec. " " Pieter f. Hendrick.  
 1580, 20 Nov. " " Susanna f. Hendrick.

##### MARRIAGES.

1587, 11 April. Joos de Hondt v. Wackene met Colette van der Keere v. Ghent.  
 1571, 2 Sept. Henrick de Hont met Jacobmijntgen Klayssens.  
 1595, 9 Feb. Joos de Hont v. Marke met Arijken Mestdag v. Oudenarde we. Bernaert van de Putte.

##### MARCUS GEERAERTS.

Another artist of great importance and interest, who took refuge in England from the Alvan persecution in 1568, was Marcus Geeraerts of Bruges.

Born at Bruges about 1510, the son of Egbert Geeraerts, a painter there, Marcus Geeraerts had a splendid career as painter, draughtsman and engraver at Bruges, until the outbreak of the religious troubles.

His name appears in the return of aliens in London in May, 1571.

*Colemanstreet Ward.*

Markes Garret, Douche borne, a paynter, in England thre yeres : hathe two children, Marke and Easter ; his servant Hans Delavauld.

In the return for November, 1571, he appears in the parish of St. Stephens, Coleman Street, as

Markes Garret, and Susan his wief, Marke there sonne, and Hester there daughter; he was borne at Bridges in Flaunders, in this realme iiiij<sup>th</sup> yeares at Marche last; he came for religion; he ys a howseholder, a picture maker, no denizon, and of the Frenche Church.

He must have been a widower in May, for in September of that year he married, at the Dutch Church, Austin Friars, Susanna de Crets of Antwerp, by whom he had three children, baptised at the same church.

It is difficult to identify the work of Marcus Geeraerts, the elder, in England. He was appointed painter to Queen Elizabeth in 1577, but in that year he was entered in the Guild of St. Luke at Antwerp, where he appears to have settled until 1586, when he is stated to have returned to England. His daughter Sara married in 1602 the famous painter Isaac Oliver. His son, Marcus Geeraerts, the younger, was born at Bruges in 1561, and is stated to have been a pupil of Lucas d'Heere, but if he was, this must have been in England.

The younger Geeraerts is renowned under the familiar name of "Mark Garrard," as the chief portrait painter at Court during the later years of Elizabeth and the early years of James I. The greater part of the somewhat dry and hard costume portraits of the date may be attributed to his hand.

His earliest work, if it be not that of his father, was a long procession of the Knights of the Garter in 1577 and 1578, engraved by Geeraerts from drawings by Dawes, the herald. This engraving is of the utmost rarity, only one perfect copy being known to exist, that in the British Museum. It was copied on a smaller scale by Hollar for Ashmole's *History of the Order of the Garter*.

Marcus Geeraerts, the younger, married at the Dutch Church, Austin Friars, in May, 1590, Magdalena de Crits of Antwerp—a near relative, no doubt, of his father's second wife and of the Queen's serjeant painter, John de Critz—by whom he had five children, baptised at the Dutch Church.

His name appears in a list of aliens in 1593, as:—

Marks Garrett, housekeeper, born in Bruges in Flanders; Maudlyn, his wife, born in Andwerpe in Brabande, a Paynter, one daughter.

In 1594, as in Lothbury,

Marcus Gerard and his wife.

Again in 1611 as

Marcus Garrard of Bruges, 2 children, living here 49 years,

THE SOCIETY'S PROCEEDINGS.

Assumens, jewellers, etc.

Images in Flanders, noe free denizen. picture  
 professing the Apostolick faith taught and  
 Land: Sovereign King James.

Marke Garret of our parish of Christ  
 1621.

men Church as having received the  
 1623, and at other times.

1635, aged seventy-four.

Geeraerts, painted by himself in 1627,  
 1644.

Images, goldsmith, would seem cer-  
 1640.

THE CHURCH, AUSTIN FRIARS.

1640.

Geeraerts.

Geeraerts.

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In  
parisi

met Susanna de Crets v. Ant-

met Catheryne Van El-pel,

met Magdalena de Crits v.

met Giheerarts v. London.

met Susanna Geeraerts v.



DENIZATION.

Garrard, Martin of London Goldsmith from ports of Holland under the obedeine of the Emperor 18 Nov. 1535.

ATTESTATIONS, DUTCH CHURCH AUSTIN FRIARS, 1624.

Tuesday 17 Feb. [O.S.] Marke Garret, the sonne of Marke Garret of our parish of Christ Church within Newgate, London, did receayve the Holy Communion with us one Sunday beinge 13 Aprill 1623 and allso at other tymes.

DE CRITS.

In the account of the family of Geeraerts, it was noted that Marcus Geeraerts the elder was married in 1571 at the Dutch church to Susanna De Crets of Antwerp, and that Marcus Geeraerts the younger was married in 1590 to Magdalena de Crits of Antwerp. It is easy to assume that these two ladies were relatives of John de Crits, serjeant painter to James I. In the account of Lucas d'Heere also John de Crittes was mentioned as his servant, being probably his pupil and assistant.

In 1552 there took out letters of denization one Troilus de Crits and Sara his wife. In May, 1571 they appear in the list of aliens in London as in the parish of

*Sainte Marye Stayninge.*

Troilus De Crits, denizen, ore worker and a householder. and Sara his wife, with one son and Suzan. Mary, Sara and Merill his daughters, borne in Flanders and hath byn in this realme 4 xvij yeares and in the parishe iij yeares.

In the return for November, 1571, they appear under the same parish, as

Troilus Decrettes, householder. and denuyzein, a broker, and a Fleminge. Sara his wyfe, a sempster, Mary and Mawdelyn his daughters; they have byn in England xx<sup>th</sup> yeares, and cam for religeon and are of the Englishe Church.

Susan, the eldest daughter, is probably the Susanna De Crits married in the same year to Marcus Geeraerts the elder, as she does not appear in the November return; Mary, the second daughter, is perhaps the Maiken de Krijts married in 1576 to Gheeraert Raessen, and secondly in 1584 to Jasper Frederics. Mawdelyn, the daughter mentioned in the second return is probably the Magdalena who married Marcus Geeraerts the younger.

The "one son" is probably John de Crits, serjeant painter to James I.

A notice of John de Crits and his life and works will be found in the *Dictionary of National Biography*, and also of his sons and descendants who succeeded him in the office of serjeant painter.

De Crits, as serjeant painter, performed manifold duties in the royal service, besides the painting of pictures and portraits.

Among one of his principal works was the painting of the tomb of Queen Elizabeth in Westminster Abbey, executed in 1605. This tomb was designed and made by Maximilian Poictrin (or Colt), a French sculptor, of whom there will be more to say hereafter. The connection between De Crits and Poictrin is emphasised by the fact that in 1605, the year in which the tomb of Queen Elizabeth was executed, "Jean de Crites and Magdeleine Geret" (evidently the wife of Marcus Geeraerts the younger) were witnesses to the baptism of a daughter of Maximilian Poictrin and Susanne his wife at the French church, Threadneedle Street.

#### REGISTERS, DUTCH CHURCH, AUSTIN FRIARS, LONDON.

##### MARRIAGES.

- 1571. Sept. 9. Marcus Geraerts v. Brugghe met Susanna de Crets v. Antwerpen.
- 1576. Jan. 17. Gheeraert Raessen v. Lijgtevoorde met Maiken de Krijts v. Antwerpen.
- 1584. Sept. 6. Jasper Fredericks v. Amsterdam met Maijken Krijts v. Antwerpen, we. Gerrardt Raassens.
- 1590. Mei 19. Marcus Geraerts v. Brugghe met Magdalena de Crits v. Antwerpen.

#### REGISTERS, FRENCH CHURCH, THREADNEEDLE STREET, LONDON.

##### BAPTISM.

- 1605. Poutrain, Elisabet fille de Maximilien P. et de Susanne sa femme.  
Tem : Jean de Crites, Magdeleinne Geret, Judith Poutrain.

##### DENIZATIONS IN ENGLAND.

- 1552, 10 March. De Cretis, Troilus and Sara his wife.
- 1604, 23 March. De Crites, John, a Fleming.

##### WARRANTS.

- 1603. To admit John de Crites to office of Serjent Painter in reversion.
- 1605. Grant to Leonard Fryer and John de Crites of office of Serjeant Painters.

1610, May 6. Grant with survivorship to John de Crites jun. and John Maunchi in reversion of office of Serjeant Painter after John de Crites sen. and Robert Peake.

# RICHARD STEVENS.

## BAPTISMS.

1572, Dec. 7. Anna Stevens f. Ritsaert.  
1588, July 3. Anna Stevens f. Richaert.  
1591, Nov. 14. Susanna Stevens f. Richaert.

In the return of aliens for November, 1571, his name is returned in the parish of St. George, Southwark.

Richard Stephens, of thage of xxix<sup>y</sup> yerres, a carver in stone, in England iiij yerres. Jane his wif, born in Gaunte, xxvi<sup>y</sup> yerres of age, in England iij yerres, and one child called Stephen, born there, of the age of v yerres, came over for religion.

These entries refer to Richard Stevens, who obtained note as a painter, sculptor and medallist about this date. He made the tomb of Thomas Radclyffe, Earl of Sussex, who died in 1583, in Boreham Church, Suffolk, and painted portraits in the style of Holbein. He has been credited with some of the larger and more important portraits of Queen Elizabeth.

## HAVEUS.

Let us now turn our thoughts for one moment to the town of King's Lynn, in Norfolk, where we shall find a contingent settled of refugees from the Alvan persecution.

Among these, as given in Mr. Walter Rye's *Norfolk Miscellany*, occur the following members of the family De Have :—

Theodoric de Have, of Delft, in Holland, with a wife and three children, came into England as an exile on 16th October, 1567, and became an elder of the Belgian church in Lynn. He is described as "*mercator*".

John, son of Theodoric, with his wife and three children, also *mercator*, came into England 26th November, 1567, and became a deacon of the foreigners' church in Lynn.

Matthew, the son of Theodoric, with his wife and daughter, described as *faber lignarius*, came into England, 26th May, 1567.

Lucas, the son of Theodoric, with his wife, came into England, 16th January, 1567, a corn merchant.

It is perhaps possible to identify with this Theodoric De Have the Theodore Haveus of Cleves, who was one of the carvers of the tomb of Dr. Caius, at Caius College, Cambridge, who died in 1573, and who, in 1576, erected a column with sun-dials (since destroyed) in the same college, with an inscription in which Haveus is described as "artifex egregius et insignis architecturæ professor". An old portrait of Theodore Haveus is still preserved in Caius College.

The entries as given in Rye's *Norfolk Antiquarian Miscellany*, iii., 208, are as follows :—

Dutch settlers in Norwich.

Romanus Seloos pictor cum uxore ex Flandria huc venit Anno 1567.

In oppido Lynne :

Theodoricus de Have ex Delft civitate Hollandiæ oriundus cum sua uxore et tribus liberis, mercator propter verbum Dei inde profugus venit in Angliam, 16 Octobris, Anno 1567, nunc senior ecclie Belgiæ in Lynne qui similiter est pure doctrine et vite sincere.

Joannes Theodorici cum sua uxore et tribus liberis ex Delft civitate Hollandiæ oriundus mercator propter verbum Dei inde profugus venit in Angliam 26 Novembris Anno 1567. Jam diaconus ecclie peregrinorum in Lynne et est pure doctrine et optime vite.

Mattheus Theodorici cum uxore sua et filia ex Delft in Hollandiæ natus faber lignarius propter Evangelium profugus et venit in Angliam 26 Maij Anno 1567 qui similiter est pure doctrine et vite.

Lucas Theodorici, cum sua uxore ex Delft in Hollandia oriundus in hac Civitate residens mercator qui ante adventum ecclesie nostre huc in Linne mercaturam exerceuit in frumento qui bonam et civilis conversationis in patria nostra habet famam et venit in Angliam 16 Januarij Anno dni millmo quinquimo sexagesimo septimo.

Another refugee settler at Norwich was Romanus Seloos, pictor, who came with his wife in 1567.

We now come to a group of artists of Netherlandish extraction, of whose families we find traces in the records of the foreigners' churches of the Reformed Religion in England. I only separate them from the last group because I have not been able to discover that they or their parents were induced to settle in this country by religious persecution and not rather for more ordinary and less romantic reasons of a commercial nature.

CORNELIS JANSSEN.

From De Critz we pass to consider a painter of far greater eminence, the famous portrait painter, Cornelis Jansen van Ceulen.

It is difficult with a patronymic surname like Jansen to trace the history of a family. It is like following up the

history of a Welsh family of Evans, Williams or Jones. It would appear, however, that among the Dutch or Walloon residents in London was a family of Jansen, known as van Keulen, presumably because they hailed from Cologne originally. The family seems, however, to have come to England from Antwerp.

In the registers of the Dutch Church at Austin Friars has been found what is believed to be the true entry of the birth of the painter Cornelius Jansen.

14th October, 1593. Cornelis, son of Cornelis Jansz.

In the same register we find the marriage, on 16th July, 1622, of Cornelis Janssen of London with Elizabeth Beke of Colchester, and on 27th November, 1604, of his sister Clara with Nicasius Rousseel, the King's jeweller, of whom more hereafter. Among the witnesses on 6th February, 1620, at the baptism of Abraham, son of Nicasius Rousseel, was Johanna, widow of Cornelis Jansz, grandmother of the child.

Space does not allow one to give a detailed account of the painter Cornelius Janssen and his works. It should be noted, however, that to signify his English birth he usually signed himself Cornelius Johnson or Jonson, sometimes adding, of London.

He lived in Blackfriars, near to Rousseel and other foreign artists, including Van Dyck. Adriaen Hanneman, the painter, courted the daughter of Cornelius Janssen, but in vain.

In 1636, when Van Dyck's supremacy had eclipsed the fame of Cornelius Janssen, the latter painter retired to Kent, and took up his residence at Bridge on Barham Down with another Dutch refugee family, that of Arnold Braems, who with his father, Jacob Braems, is known to members of this society as builder of the Custom House at Dover, in which the first reformed church for foreigners was located. At the outbreak of the Civil War, Cornelius Janssen retired to The Hague, and spent the rest of his life in Holland.

GERARD JANSEN.

It is interesting to hazard a guess that Gerard Jansen of Southwark, the statuary who executed the monument to Shakespeare in the church of Stratford-on-Avon, was related to Cornelius Jansen, the painter.

In a Return of Strangers for 1593 there appears :—

*S. Thomas Apostells.*

Garratt Johnson and Mary his wife, householders ; a Hollander borne at Amsterdam ; a Tombe-maker ; 5 sonnes aged 22, 11, 10, 6, 4, and 1 daughter aged 14 ; all borne in England ; 26 years resident ; a denizen ; English Church ; 4 Jorinimen ; 2 Prentices and 1 Englishman at work ; no servant.

One would wish to identify this Gerard Jansen with Geeraert Jansens van Keulen who in 1581 married Jacomina Jardewyns of Antwerp, widow of Matthew Verhagen. The name, however, is too common for one to do more than hazard such a conjecture.

## REGISTERS OF DUTCH CHURCH, AUSTIN FRIARS, LONDON.

## BAPTISMS.

1572, Sept. 14. Cornelis Jansen f. Cornelis.  
 1574, Aug. 29. Sara " " "  
 1589, May 23. Jannaeken " " "  
 1591, Sept. 5. Elisabet " " "  
 1593, Oct. 14. Cornelis Jansz f. Cornelis.  
 1596, April 18. Jacobus " " "  
 1599, Mei 25. Henricus Jansen f. "  
 1601, Sept. 27. Marie Jansz " "  
 1620, Feb. 6. Abraham Roussel f. Nicasius. Testes Abraham Harrewyns and Johanna, we. Cornelis Jansz, avia infantis.

## MARRIAGES.

1581, Sept. 14. Geeraert Janssens vth Sticht v. Kolen met Jakemijne Jardewijns v. Antwerpen, we. Mattheewes Verhagen.  
 1582, Dec. 2. Henrick Janssens v. Gijstkercke ondert Sticht v. Kolen met Maijken Izsebrande uit den Hage.  
 1589, Aug. 26. Cornelis Jans met Catherine Lammens v. Ghendt.  
 1604, Nov. 27. Nicasius Roussel v. Brugghe met Clara Janssen v. Antwerpen.  
 1616, Oct. 30. Geeraert Jansen v. Groeninghen met Anne de Jode v. Londen.  
 1622, July 16. Cornelis Janssen v. Londen met Elizabeth Beke v. Colchester.  
 1628, Dec. 26. Geeraert Janssz v. Groeninghen met Susanna de Hulster we. Hans Winne.

## DROESHOUT.

It is interesting to members of this society to note that besides the monument to Shakespeare by Jansen, in the church of Stratford-on-Avon, the other most authentic portrait of Shakespeare was the work of an artist, Martin Droeshout, belonging to a Flemish family, many of whom were baptised and married in the Dutch Church at Austin Friars.

In a return of Aliens in London in April and May, 1593, there is entered :—

*Bred Street Warde.*

Mychaell Drowshot; a chamber keeper: no wyfe: born in Brussell in Brabant but dyd remaine sumtyme in Andwarpe: sometyme in Fryzeland and sometyme in Zeland and from ~~to some other place~~ A graver in copper which he learned in Brussell.

In 1594 in a return of members of the Dutch Church ~~at~~ the names in Duckes (sic) Place of

John Droeshout and his wyfe, and Marten Droeshout.

Michael seems to have been the son of John Droeshout, and Mary his wife, in London, described as from Brussels and as painters. Michael himself was an engraver, and a rare engraving of the Gunpowder Plot is signed by him. He was married at the Dutch Church, Austin Friars, to no less than four wives in succession. By his first wife, Suzanne van der Ersbeke of Ghent, whom he married in 1585, he had two sons, John, baptised in 1596, and Martin, baptised in 1601.

Michael Droeshout had a brother Martin Droeshout, who was granted letters of denization in 1608, as "Martin Droeshout, painter of Brabant". He was probably the Marten Droeshout resident with his parents in Duckes Place in 1594. He was married to two successive wives at the Dutch Church, Austin Friars, and had several children baptised there.

The two sons of Michael Droeshout, John and Martin, can be identified as the two engravers, whose names are well known to collectors. They both worked chiefly on portraits, book-plates, and frontispieces for the booksellers, and show little originality in their work, which is correct but inartistic.

John Droeshout made his will on 12th January, 1651, in which he is described as of St. Bride's, Fleet Street, engraver, and his will was proved on 16th March following by his widow, Elizabeth.

Martin Droeshout has gained unexpected immortality as the engraver of the portrait of Shakespeare prefixed to the folio edition of Shakespeare's works, published in 1623, with the well-known lines by Ben Jonson below it. It is coarse and stiffly executed, and is evidently not the work of an original artist, but of one copying from a model before him. Its unscrupulous veracity has, however, caused it to be accepted as the most authentic likeness of Shakespeare extant.

WEDINGS.

corresponding to the  
Droeshout was acquired  
at Dr. Avon, and has since  
from which Droeshout

AUSTIN FRIARS.

Interment test Lucas D'Hooft  
1888.

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Michiel.  
Michiel.  
Michiel.  
Michiel.  
Michiel.  
Michiel.  
Michiel.  
Michiel.  
Michiel.

ssel met Susanneken van der  
ssel met Anna Winterbeke v.  
ssel met Susanna de Drosche v.  
ssel met Jaannekens Molins v.  
ssel met Jacobmijntgen van  
ssel met Martha Sleuwen w.  
ssel met van Martha Lambert  
Schoot.  
van Gratia Cliftsens met

CHURCH.

eken with attestation tr.

ssel with Jan his father.  
ssel with testimony of his  
of father and mother.  
of father and mother.  
of his father, Maerten



CATALOGUE OF THE MEMBERS OF THE DUTCH CHURCH, 1618 (?).

Mart. Droeshout of Brussels and 6 children has lived here 33 years among the goldsmiths, silversmiths, jewellers, and diamond cutters : among them also was Michiel Droeshout of Brussels with 3 children has lived here 29 years.

DENIZATIONS.

1608, Jan. 30. Martin Droeshout, painter of Brabant.  
[Cal. St. P. Dom. Ser., James I.]

RETURN OF STRANGERS IN LONDON, MAY 1571.

*Saynt Foster's Paryshe.*

John Drussett, joyner, borne in Brussel, in England and in the said warde v yeeres. Douche 1.

Margaret Drussett, his wife, borne in Cleveland, in England iiij yeeres and in the saide warde a quarter of a yeer. Douche 1.

Michael Droeshout in a duplicate return of the year 1593 is stated to have been "3 years in the realm, to be no free denizen, to belong to the Dutch Church and to have no servant. Ward uncertain."

John Drussoit and Mary his wife, howseholders : born in Brissle ; Painter ; 2 sonnes and 2 daughters ; 24 yeeres in England ; no denizen of the Dutch Church.

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Will of John Droeshout, engraver dated Jan. 12, 165 $\frac{1}{2}$  proved March 18, 165 $\frac{1}{2}$ . [P.C.C. 55 Bowyer.]

ROUSSEEL [RUSSEL.]

It has been noted that Clara Janssen, sister of the famous painter, Cornelis Janssen, was married at the Dutch Church, Austin Friars, to Nicasius Rousseel of Bruges, the King's goldsmith. She was his second wife, for he had been married at the same church in April, 1590, to Jacomina Wils, by whom he had four children, baptised there also.

Nicasius Rousseel (or Russel), was goldsmith and jeweller to James I., and appears to have settled in London in 1567. He lived in Blackfriars, and had as his neighbours not only his brother-in-law, Cornelius Janssen, but also the great Court painter, Sir Anthony Van Dyck. After the unexpected death of Van Dyck in December, 1641, we read that among those who attended his funeral in St. Paul's Cathedral was Nicasius Russell. Nicasius Roussel had by his second wife several children, baptised at the Dutch Church, Austin Friars.

His second son, Theodore Russel, baptised there in 1614, was admitted a member of the Dutch Church in December,

1640, and obtained some note as a painter. He appears to have first lived as assistant to his uncle, Cornelius Janssen, for nine years, and then to have been employed as an assistant and copyist for about one year in the studio of Van Dyck. He copied a number of Van Dyck's portraits on a small scale. Some of these can be seen at Hampton Court, and others at Halswell near Bridgwater. He died in 1689, and, according to Vertue, the engraver, was "a lover of Ease and his Bottle". He left a son, Antony Russel, who also attained some note as a painter. Antony Russel was a friend of Vertue, the engraver, and supplied him with some of the information recorded in Vertue's diaries and afterwards worked up by Horace Walpole into the *Anecdotes of Painting*. He died about 1743, aged eighty.

An interesting connection occurs with reference to the baptism of the third son of Nicasius Russel, Isaac, born in 1616, to whom no less a person than the great Isaac Oliver, the miniature-painter, stood godfather.

Two years later, another son, Nicasius, was presented for baptism by Cornelis Janssen and the widow of Isaac Oliver, and in 1620 a fifth son, Abraham, had for his godmother his grandmother, Johanna, widow of Cornelis Janssen, the elder.

#### REGISTERS, DUTCH CHURCH, AUSTIN FRIARS.

##### BAPTISMS.

- 1596, 11 Jan. Susanna Russel f. Nicasius.  
 1598, April 9. Ester Russeel f. Nicasius.  
 1600, April 13. Abigail Rousseel f. Nicasius.  
 1603, Jan. 5. Joannes Rousseel f. Nicasius.  
 1605, Oct. 27. Johanna Roussel f. Nicasius.  
 1607, Feb. 15. Maria Roussel f. Nicasius.  
 1608, Sept. 18. Cornelis Roussel f. Nicasius.  
 " Oct. 9. Joannes Roussel f. Anthonius.  
 1610, Sept. 23. Maria Roussel f. Nicasius.  
 1612, July 26. Elizabeth Roussel f. Nicasius.  
 1614, Oct. 9. Theodorus Roussel f. Nicasius.  
 1616, Mei 19. Isaac Roussel f. Nicasius [Isaac Oliver, godfather].  
 1619, Jan. 9. Nicasius Roussel f. Nicasius [Cornelis Jansz and Isaac Oliver's widow, godparents].  
 1620, Feb. 6. Abraham Roussel f. Nicasius. [Testes Abraham Herrewyn et Johanna we. Cornelis Jansz, avia infantis.]

##### MARRIAGES.

- 1590, April 21. Nicasius Rossel v. Brugge met Jacomijnken Wils v. Meessene.  
 1604, Nov. 27. Nicasius Roussel v. Brugghe met Clara Janss v. Andwerpen.





ATTESTATIONS.

- 1633, Thursday 11 [= 21 N.S.] Aprill by William Gouge. Elizabeth Russell, daughter of Nicasius and Clare Russell of Blackfryers London: has often been admitted to the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper in the Church of the Blackfryers.  
 1640, Tuesday 15 [= 25 N.S.] December by William Gouge, S.T.P. Theodore Russell sonne of Nicasius Russell of Black Fryers, London, Gouldsmith . . . hath binne admitted to the Holy Communion of which Sacrament he hath oft participated in the Church of Blackfryers, London.

REGISTERS, FRENCH CHURCH, THREADNEEDLE STREET.

BAPTISMS.

- 1603, Sept. 11. Jaques Lardennois, fils de Samuel L. et de Dorcas, sa femme. Tém. : Nicaise Rousselle, Elinii Lardennes, Jan Jansse.  
 1613, Mars 18. Jehan Lardennois, fils de Jehan L. et de Helène sa femme. Tém. : Samuel Lardennois ancien, Nicaise Roselle, Judic, femme de Gerard Portier.

MARRIAGES.

- 1623, Juin 16. Pierre Audiet, natif dabruz du Dauphine et Susanne fille de Nicases Roussel, native de Londres.  
 1626, Mai 11. Nicollas Pilo et Mary Roussel, se sont presente pour estre merye.

The registers of the Dutch Church, Austin Friars, contain records of other artists of Netherlandish origin, belonging presumably to the reformed religion, who were of some note in the history of art.

DANIEL MYTENS.

BAPTISMS.

- 1629, 1 July. Mijtens, Elisabet & Susanna f. Daniel.

MARRIAGE.

- 1628, 2 Sept. Daniel Mijtens v. Delft, W<sup>r</sup> van Gratia Clijtsers, met Johanna Drossaert, we. Joos de Neve.

REGISTERS OF THE FRENCH CHURCH, THREADNEEDLE STREET.

BAPTISM.

- 1628, Mars 19. Jacob De Courcilles, fils de Jacob de C. et de Judith de le Vinquière. Tém. Daniel Mijtens, la femme de Daniel Soriau.

These entries refer to Daniel Mytens, the well-known portrait painter to James I. and Charles I., of whom an account will be found in the *Dictionary of National Biography*.

## PIETER MOLYN.

## BAPTISMS.

- 1595, April 6. Pieter de Molijn f. Pieter.  
 1597, Sept. 4. Susanna de Molijn f. Pieter.

## MARRIAGE.

- 1594, June 23. Pieter de Molijn v. Ghendt met Lynken van den Bossche  
 v. Brussel, we. Anthonis van der Meulen.

The first baptismal entry records the birth of Pieter de Molijn, a famous landscape painter in his day, who however returned to Holland, to which country his history belongs.

## PASSE.

## BAPTISMS.

- 1624, April 6. Willem van de Pas, out 26 jaeren.  
 „ April 8. Crispin van de Pas, f. Willem.  
 1625, Sept. 25. Elizabeth van de Pas, f. Willem.

These entries refer to Willem van de Passe, son of the famous engraver, Crispin van de Passe, of Utrecht. An account of this celebrated family of engravers will be found in the *Dictionary of National Biography*. It is remarkable that Willem van de Passe seems to have been converted to the reformed religion, since he was baptised but two days before his son Crispin.

## HIERONYMUS CUSTODIS.

## MARRIAGE.

- 1593, Dec. 29. Jan Jems v. Antwerpen met Catherina van Hersaele  
 v. Brussel, we. Jeronimus Custodis.

This is the only mention we have of a painter, Hieronymus Custodis, whose signature is found on portraits of this date, one example being at Woburn Abbey and another at Hampton Court. He was perhaps a member of the large artist family of Custos or Custodis at Augsburg. Possibly he is the "Hieronimo" alluded to by Meres in 1598.

## PIETER COLE.

Among the painters mentioned by Meres in 1598 was Peter Cole. In a return of strangers for 1593 occurs mention as follows :—

*Warde of Aldersgate without.*

Peter Coale; no householder; in prisone; born at Antwerpe; Pickter  
 Maker; no child or servant; lived in England 16 yeares; no deni-  
 zen; Frenche Church.

The registers of the Dutch Church, Austin Friars, record the baptisms for 1617-1624 of seven children of one Pieter Cool, but it would hardly be safe to identify this Pieter Cole with the picture-maker, who had somehow or the other transgressed the law.

CORNELIS BOL.

Among the attestations in the Dutch Church, Austin Friars, it is stated that on Monday, 3rd December, 1635, there were attested :—

Cornelis Bol, Netherlandish painter and his wife, both from Antwerp; have long resided at Paris.

LUTTICHUYS.

BAPTISMS.

- 1604, Aug. 14. Catharijna Luttich f. Bernard.
- 1606, April 20. Gabriel Luttichuijs f. Bernard.
- 1610, Mar. 6. Symeon Luttechuijs f. Bernhaert.
- 1611, Mei 2. Anna Luttichuijs f. Bernard.
- 1612, Aug. 9. Magdalena Luttichuijs f. Bernard.
- 1613, Dec. 27. Bernardus Luttichuijs f. Bernard.
- 1616, Feb. 25. Isaac Luttickhuysen f. Bernard.
- 1624, Oct. 17. Paulus Luttichhuysen f. Bernard.

Simon and Isaac Luttichuys, whose baptisms are recorded here, were noted portrait painters in their day. They returned to Holland and practised there. Simon was first married to Anna Van Peene, probably in London, for a family of that name was resident there, and in 4th August, 1655, he was betrothed at Amsterdam to Johanna Cocks of Naerfick (? Norfolk) in England, widow of Jan West, both parties residing on the Heeregracht in Amsterdam. Simon Luttichuys died at Amsterdam in 1662-3.

Isaac Luttichuys was betrothed on 3rd April, 1643, described as "Ysaak Luttickhuys of London, aged 27, dwelling on the Louweniergracht," and attested by his nephew, Paulus Van Schoonhoven, to Elisabeth Adolfs Winck of Amsterdam, aged twenty-six, dwelling in the same street. His daughter, Cornelia, was betrothed on 20th April, 1663, to Jasper Bylder of Amsterdam, wine merchant. He must have remarried, for in 1648 and 1650 baptisms are recorded in the Nieuwekerk at Amsterdam of children of Isaak Luttichuys and Sara Grelant, or Goebaj, his wife.

Isaack Luttichuys, who lived on the Cingel at Amsterdam, was buried in the Westerkerk at Amsterdam on 6th March, 1673. A portrait of Henry, Duke of Gloucester, painted by Isaac Luttichuys, was finely engraved by Cornelis Van Dalen.

There is a fine portrait of a man, signed by Isaac Luttichuijs, in the collection of the Earl of Crawford and Balcarres at Balcarres House, co. Fife.

## KIP.

## BAPTISMS.

1597, Mei 8. Immanuel van Kip f. Guliam.

1601, Sept. 15. Debora van Kip f. Guliam.

These entries probably refer to William Kip, an engraver, who engraved the interesting series of triumphal arches drawn by Stephen Harrison for the coronation festivities of James I. It may possibly have been a daughter of his who became the wife of the notorious Sir Balthasar Gerbier.

## LIVENS.

## BAPTISM.

1637, Mei 2. Maria Lievens f. Jan.

This may refer to the famous painter, Jan Livens, fellow pupil of Rembrandt, who spent a short time in London about this date.

## OSBORNE.

## BAPTISM.

1604, Mei 5. Susanna Osborne f. Jan.

This may refer to the noted worker in horn and whalebone, Jan Osborn, who removed to Holland and became of great repute for this work. A short account of him is given in the *Dictionary of National Biography*.

## WOUNDNEEL.

## BAPTISMS.

1603, Mei 3. Abraham Woudneel f. Hans.

1604, Mei 10. Sara Woudneel f. Hans.

The name of Johannes Woutnelius appears in various places as the publisher of certain valuable engraved portraits of the Huguenots.

## WARD OF BRIDGE WITHOUT.

In the return of aliens for November, 1571, there occurs one from the Ward of Bridge Without, Southwark :—

John Arnold, Purisher.

He is a husband of thage of xlv<sup>th</sup>, in England xix<sup>th</sup> yeres, and is the same, having a wif called Arnold, of the same age and y children borne here, viz., Joselphe, ij yeres and six moneths old. Denizen i. No church ii.



The "Reginold" mentioned cannot be other than the well-known engraver, Renold, or Reginald Elstracke, whose works are so highly valued by collectors.

In another return of 1582-3,  
 Josephe Elstraek, glasier, and Arnold his wif  
 are said to be of the Dutch Church.

## DENIZATION.

1557, 13 November. Joseph Elsrake, Dutchman,

## WILLIAM CURE.

In the return of aliens for November, 1571, in the Ward of Bridge Without, Southwark, occur the names as follows,  
*The Parishe of Saint Olaves.*

Derick Cure, carver, of thage of liij<sup>ty</sup> yeres, and Ellyn his wif, Hollenders  
 haith bynne here xxj<sup>ty</sup> yeres,

William Cure, of Holland, of age lvj<sup>ty</sup> yeres, in England xxx<sup>ty</sup> yeres, a  
 carver in stone, sent for over hither when the Kinge did byuld Nones-  
 sutehe, havinge to wif ane Englishwoman, and haith here vj children  
 all borne in England. Denizen j. Parishe Church j.

## DENIZATIONS.

1552, March 10. William Cure.

William Cure, who, as we learn from this entry, was the carver of the decorative sculpture at Nonsuch Palace, which is usually attributed to Italian hands, was the first of a line of well-known statuary. He is evidently the Cure mentioned in Meres' *Wit's Treasury*, and the "W. Cure, Ducheman, graver," who modelled the Tartar, brought home by Sir Martin Frobisher, in 1576. His son Cornelius Cure, and grandson William Cure, were master masons to the Crown and the artists employed to erect the monuments to Elizabeth and Mary, Queen of Scots, in Westminster Abbey. An account of their works will be found in the *Dictionary of National Biography*.

In the return of strangers in London in May, 1571, the names of the following artists occur, of whom nothing else is known :—

*Lymestrete Warde.*

Ramholde Casbyke, paynter, borne in Brabant, Agnes his wife and John  
 their childe, in England iiij yeares, and in the said warde tenne  
 monethes, housholder. Douche 3.

In the return for November, 1571, he appears as

Bombault Van Kersbarke, paynter, having a lytle boye, came into this  
 realme about foure yeares past for religion.

*Warde of Farringdon within—Christes Church Paryshe.*

Pengrayes Inglyes, paynter, borne in Flanders, sojournor within a widowes house, in England 28 yeres, and in the said warde a quarter of a yere.

*Farringdon Warde without—Saint Martin's Parrishe.*

Dericke Evereynde, Hollander, no denizon, of occupacion a painter, hathe bene in Englande and in this warde two yeres and thre quarters.

*Within Bridewell House.*

Haunce Evans, Dutche, howsholder, denizen, and a paynter in England xxv yeres and in the same howse ij yeres. Douche 1.

He occurs again in the return for November, 1571, as in Saint Bryde's parishe,

*S<sup>t</sup> Sepulchre's Without Newgate.*

Haunce Evance, pictorer, a denizen, borne in Anwarpe, came into this realme about xxvij yeres past.

*Smythfield Gaate—Cow Lane.*

Lewese Dewale, borne in Flaunders, hathe bene within [this] realme v weekes and in this ward xij dayes, a paynter, and hath a wyfe called Mary, borne in Brabant, and iij younge children, ij boyes and ij wenshis, that is to say, Abraham and Aschewers, Mary and Cristian, howsholder. Douche 6.

*Bishopsgate Warde—Sainte Helenes.*

Jacob Vergos, painter, a Burgonian, and householder, in England foure yeres, and dwelt in this warde but nyne monethes.

He occurs again in November, 1571, as

Jacob Worgos, howsholder and painterstayner, borne in Selande, cam into Englande to see the realme, and is of no church.

*Saint Ethelboroughes Parishe.*

John Bonner, painter, a Dutchman and George Parrys, gentleman, in England three yere, and in the parish a yere and do but sojourne here. Dowch 2.

*Aldersgate Ward—S<sup>t</sup> Botolphes.*

Henry Campyneire, peinter and howsholder, Jane his wife, Jane and Margaret his children, and a maide, born in Flanders.

He occurs again in November, 1571, as

Henry de Campyna, painter, and Jocan his wyfe, were borne in Brabant, and have byn in London iij yeres; they have ij children, and a mayde called Joane Bowes; they resort al to the Frenche Church.

*Warde of Brodestreate—Alhallows Parishe.*

Balthasar Careman, denizein and painter, Barbara his wyfe, Abraham and Tobias his sonnes, Douche borne, and hath byn in this realme viij yeres, and in this parish v yeres.

He occurs again in November, 1571, as

Balthasar Carman, painter stayner, and Barbara, his wyfe, and Abraham, there sonne; they have dwelt in London these ix yeres; he is a denizein, and be all of the Douche church.

DENIZATIONS.

1566, 8 June. Balthasar Karmans, from the dominion of the King of Spain.

*Porsoken Warde.*

Stabull Hovaunt and Suzan his wife, borne in Andwerp, a peynter, no denizen; they have a child named Suzan; they came into England at Ester last.

*Tower Warde.*

John Benson, and his wif, Duch, a paynter upon tables, inhabitinge here vij yeres with vij children, viz., John, Barnard, Josephe, Labiana, Anne, Suzan and Sara: he is a denizen.

He occurs again in November, 1571, as

John Benson, of Bridges, paynter, came about vij yeres past, Antholina his wif, Haunce, Tanne, Suzan, Barnard, Labyan, Sara, and Josina, his children.

DENIZATIONS.

1567, March 25. Haunce Benson, from the dominion of the King of Spain.

Ambrosius Benson, a famous painter at Bruges, who died there between 1547 and 1550, left a son, Jan Benson, received into the guild of painters at Antwerp as "*fls de maître*".

*Bridgewithout Warde—S<sup>r</sup> Olaves Parishe.*

John Harrys and his wife, painter, borne in Braband, and ij children, and have byne here iij yeres.

He occurs in November, 1571, as

John Harrison, painter, housholder, of thage of xxvij<sup>y</sup> yeres, born in Mekland, and his wif, borne in Andborowe and haith byne here iij yeres, and came for religion, and haith ij children, a boye of thage of vj yeres, and a warde ix yeres, borne under Kinge Phillipp.

Adrian Beene and his wif, painter, born in Flaunders, hath byne here iij yeres.

He reappears in November, 1571, as

Andreas Bealle, a painter of thage of liij<sup>y</sup> yeres, and his wif, and one daughter of thage of xxj<sup>y</sup> yeres, all borne in Flaunders, and came for religion, and have bynne here iij yeres.

*Candelwickestrete Warde.*

Rowland Arton, paynter, born in Andwerpe, a denizon, he haithe dwelled in this ward lx years.

He occurs in November, 1571, as

Rowland Arton, borne in Antwerpe, denizon, a painter, in England lv yeares, and goeth to his parishe church.

## DENIZATIONS.

1544, July 1. Rouland Arten, born in Andwerpe, aged 35 years. In England 25 years.

In the Return of Aliens for November, 1571, the following additional names of artists occur :—

*Parish of Creplegate Without.*

James Vanholt, painter, and his wife, came into this realme abt halfe a yeare past, born in Flaunders, fled for religion.

*Saint Botolphs without Aldrichgate.*

Leonerde Awdrianson, househoulder, dennyzsein and painter, hath byn in this realme xv yeares, and in this parishe ij yeares and cometh to his parishe Church.

## DENIZATIONS.

1568, May 26. Leonard Adryanson, from the dominion of Philip, King of Spain.

*Walbroke Ward St Swithins Parishe.*

Peter van Den, of the age of l<sup>th</sup> yeres, and borne in Flaunders and fled from thence for religion, and haith byne in England this fyve yeres, and lyveth by painctinge and makinge of pictures, and is a howseholder. Jacklyn his mayde, of the age of xxij<sup>th</sup> yeres, and borne in Flaunders, and brought into England by Peter van Den, and haith byne in England thes ij yeres.

Among the aliens who took out denization is recorded

1540, Nov. 9. Katherine Maynour, widow, painter, born in Antwerpe in Brabant.

## CORSELLIS.

In one of the returns of strangers in London for 1635 there is entered in St. Botolph's Parish :—

James Corsellis picture-drawer born at Antwerp residing in England 30 years et uxor and five children born here and three servants born in Holland.

One can hardly doubt but that he belonged to the family of Nicolas Corsellis, a rich merchant of London, several members of whose family appear in the registers of the Dutch Church.

This Nicolas Corsellis claimed relationship with Frederik Corsellis, who was at one time credited with having invented the art of printing. He bought an estate at Laver Marney in Essex, and laid the foundations of a family, the rise and prosperity of which would form an interesting subject for the members of this Society.

his same return are found, besides the names of better-artists, such as Sir Anthony van Dyck, George Goltzius, Adrian Hanneman, Hubert le Sueur and others, the names of whom may or may not have belonged to the reformed church:—

 $\partial^2 x,$ 

Asyeer engraver in wood.

*rine Coleman.*

**Calliade picture drawer born at Rouen.**

at Lothbury.

most, picture drawer, Hollander. Isigai & M. Weger. winter of a year.

1. 10. 20

White a Dutchman by profession a Hunter he hath a wife  
children born in London, he keeps 14 servants, the one  
the other born at Emden in Low Germany, he hath a  
von Macheroy, he hath continued in the service of

He must now be directed to a group of artists of  
 in, whose family history can be traced in the  
 of the Dutch Church. Austin Fears of the  
 in Threadneedle Street.

turn again to the family of Gheeraets. One of Dutch Church, Austin Friars, the lady was married on 5th February, 1772 to a Mr. Gheeraets of London. The lady is probably the daughter of Marcus Gheeraets, the father of John de Crits, baptised at the Dutch Church in the connection of the marriage of the late Mr. John de Crits and Jane Gheeraets.

**An entry in the record is expected to settle the point.** [The case is being argued in the Supreme Court.]

prisons, however, and the fact that the  
naunce, and Type of the language, and  
his parisne, and the fact that the  
to denizen.

1571, he goes to a party.

his wife, and I have been together

They occur again in a return for 1576, as

*The Olde Baylye Quarter.*

Peter Oliver, Tyffen his wyfe, and Isaack Peter there sonne, in Harysons house, in Fletelane.

This would seem to establish the parentage and birthplace of Isaac Oliver. He is described by the historian Sandrart as *Londinensis*; on his portrait by Hondius as *Anglus*, all pointing to his having been born in London. It is almost certain that he was a pupil of the famous miniature-painter Nicholas Hilliard.

There is not space here to go into the artistic career of Isaac Oliver, an account of whom will be found in the *Dictionary of National Biography*. It has been noted that in 1616 he stood sponsor to a son of Nicasius Roussel.

From the registers of the French Church, Threadneedle Street, it appears that a son, Jacques, of Isaac Olivier and Elisabeth, his wife, probably a second wife, was baptised on 8th January, 1609. His wife was witness to other baptisms, and Isaac Oliver himself to that of one Benjamin Portier on 26th July, 1614. Oliver lived at Blackfriars, near the Rousells, and died there on 2nd October, 1617, and was buried at St. Anne's, Blackfriars.

The entries in the registers of the French Church concerning Pierre Olivier may relate to Isaac Oliver's son, Peter Oliver, also so celebrated as a miniature painter, but as they continue beyond 1648, the date of Peter Oliver's death, they probably refer to some other member of the same family.

#### REGISTERS OF THE DUTCH CHURCH, AUSTIN FRIARS.

##### MARRIAGE.

1602, Feb. 9. Isaac Olivier v. Rouen met Sara Gheeraerts v. Londen.

#### REGISTERS OF FRENCH CHURCH, THREADNEEDLE STREET.

##### MARRIAGES.

1626, Dec. 26. Pierre Ollivier, natif de Londres & Catherinne de La Haye, aussy native de Londre.

1638, Déc. 26. Pierre Olivier, natif de Londre, et Rosse du Moulin (veufé de feu Pierre Flaman), natif de Vallenciennes.

1660, Avril 1. Nicolas Hay, fils de Claude, daupres de Guise, et Martinne, fille de Pierre Olivier, natifve de Londre.

##### BAPTISMS.

1609, Janv. 8. Jacques Ollyvier, fils de Isaacq O. et d'Ellisabett sa femme. Téms. Jacques Hardan, Martin Hardret, Marie Gasgar.



- 1612, Août 23. Nathanael Chamberlan, fils de Pierre C. le jeune et de Sara de Laune, sa femme. Tém. M<sup>r</sup> Marie, nostre pasteur, et — femme d'Isac Olivier.
- 1613, Fév. 28. Madelene Sampson, fille de Etienne S. et de sa femme Madelene de Roquigni. Tém. Adrien de Roquigni, diacre, Rachel Maçon, v<sup>e</sup> de Martin Hardret, ancien, la femme d'Isac Olivier.
- 1614, Juil. 24. Benjamin Portier, fils de Gerard P. et de Judic Lardennois, sa femme. Tém. Isac Olivier, Jaques de Vriese, Jehanne v<sup>e</sup> de Hierome van Derelst.
- 1628, Janv. 6. Rachell Le Man, fille de Renowld Le M. et de Lidye sa femme. Tém. Piere Oliver, Simonne, femme de Abraham de Le Valle.
- 1629, Juin 28. Esther Olivier, fille de Pierre O. et de Catherine de La Haye. Tém. Charles Bultel, Esther Herbert, femme a Pierre Bulteel.
- 1632, Janv. 8. Jacob Olivier, fils de Pierre O. Tém. Jacob Hardret, Susanne, femme de Jean de Lanoy.
- 1635, Fév. 8. Jacques Rape, fils de Baltazard R. et de Catherine Moulin. Tém. Jaq<sup>r</sup> Rape, Catherine de La Haye, femme a Pierre Olivier.
- 1635, Août 23. Pierre De La Haye, fils de Thomas de La H. et de Collette de La Fontaine. Tém. Pierre Ollivier, Marie Dolé, Adrienne Rondal.
- 1636, Mai 8. Catherine Le Preu, fille de Guillaume Le P. et de sa femme. Tém. Jan Barra, Caterine Olivier.
- 1636, Sept. 11. Sara Catté, fille de Charles C. et d'Elisabeth Smitz. Tém. André Buisinne, Catherine femme à Pierre Olivier.
- 1638, Août 5. Pierre Rone fils de Jacques R. Tém. Pierre Olivier, Marguerite, femme de François La Ronde.
- 1639, Nov. 10. Martine Ollivier, fille de Pierre O. et de —. Tém. Roger Englebert, Martin Le Pamon.

## POUTRAIN.

Returning once more to the family of Geeraerts, one finds that on 31st January, 1604, Maximilien Poictrin of Utrecht was married to Susanna Geeraerts of Antwerp. The lady was certainly nearly related to Marcus Geeraerts the younger and Magdalene de Crits, his wife, for on 30th June, 1605, at the French Church, Threadneedle Street, Jean de Crites (evidently the painter) and Magdaleine Geret were witnesses to the baptism of Elizabeth, daughter of Maximilien and Susanne Poutrain.

Maximilian Poutrain, a native of Arras, in France, followed his elder brother, Jean Poutrain, into England. He worked as a sculptor and statuary, and became master carver to the King. His most important work was the tomb of Queen Elizabeth in Westminster Abbey, which he executed in connection with John de Crits, who coloured it, and James Mauncy, another painter, who, as has been seen, shared with John de Crits, junior, the reversion of the post of serjeant-painter after John de Crits, senior, and Robert Peake. He also executed the monument to the infant princesses, Sophia



They occur again in the records of the church, where he was also employed. *The Olde Baylye Que* Peter Oliver, Tyffensons house, in Fleet Street, London, was a member Anglicised, and

This would seem to be the case of Isaac Oliver. He was born in London, as *Londinensis*; and it is certain that he was a member of the French Church, though he was a member of the French Church, Maximilian Poutrain, the French Church, will be seen that at the 8th April, 1609, no less than Demetrius (or Var)

There is not space here to give the full details of Isaac Oliver, an account of his life is given in the *Dictionary of National Biography*. In 1616 he stood sponsor for a child of the French Church, Desquereel on 8th Sep

From the register of the French Church, Street, it appears that Elisabeth, his wife, was born on 8th January, 1609. He and Isaac Oliver himself were married on 26th July, 1614. Oliver died there on 2nd St. Anne's, Blackfriars.

The entries in the register concerning Pierre Olivier may be seen in the register of the French Church, also so celebrated as continuing beyond 1648, the probably refer to some other

#### REGISTERS OF THE DUTCH CHURCH

##### MARRIAGES

1602, Feb. 9. Isaac Olivier v. Rouen

#### REGISTERS OF FRENCH CHURCH

##### MARRIAGES

1626, Dec. 26. Pierre Ollivier, natif de Haye, aussy native de Londre.  
1638, Déc. 26. Pierre Olivier, natif de Londre (de feu Pierre Flaman), natif de Val de  
1660, Avril 1. Nicolas Hay, fils de Claude Hay, natif de Londre, et de sa femme, fille de Pierre Olivier, natifve de Londre.

##### BAPTISMS.

1609, Janv. 8. Jacques Ollyvier, fils de Pierre Olivier, et de sa femme. Tém. Jacques Hardan, Marti

8. Maximilian Cocquerel, fils de Jacques C. et de sa femme  
 berite Henin. Tém. Maximilien Poultrain, la femme de Mont  
 leur.

# LE SUEUR.

le Sueur mentioned in the last entry was the  
 sculptor, Hubert le Sueur, who wrought the statue  
 I. at Charing Cross. A native of France, Le  
 been brought up under Giovanni Bologna and  
 ca. He married in France Noémi le Blanc, and  
 Henri, baptised at St. Germain l'Auxerrois in

19 Le Sueur came to England, and was at first  
 by Richard Weston, Earl of Portland, Lord  
 the Household, and then by Charles I. himself.  
 of the equestrian statue was completed in  
 Sueur executed many works for the King, the  
 broke and Archbishop Laud. He lived, like  
 the parish of St. Bartholomew the Great, and  
 ced in the registers of the French Church,  
 Street. He seems to have married as his second  
 Seine, and to have had a son, Isaac, born in

England at the outbreak of the civil wars  
 France. He was living at Paris in 1651.  
 himself "Sculpteur du Roy".

medal of him by Warin, and a portrait by  
 en engraved in mezzotint by Jan Van  
 of Le Sueur. A further account of this  
 "be found in the *Dictionary of National*

Noémi le Blanc, Le Sueur had, as  
 Henri, baptised on 17th March, 1610,  
 rois, at Paris. Noémi le Sueur stood  
 printer, Léon de la Perrière, at S.  
 he was in England before 1619.  
 rs of the French Church, Thread  
 ain the following records of Hubert  
 rie la Seine.

## PRISMS.

ille de Nicolas M. et de sa femme.  
 femme de Jean Lorrain, Març. Le

- 1628, Mars 2. Jenne Menier, fille de Jonas M. Tém. M<sup>r</sup> Le Sueur, Jenne Fonteynne, Mary Picart.  
 1628, Mai 11. Jacob et Jacques Le Barbier, fils de Denis Le B. et de Marie Cocqu. Tém. Hubert Le Sueur, Noel Cocqu, Barber de Zaleur, Elisabeth Salzebery.  
 1628, Aout 21. Marie Houlet, fille de Pierre H. et de Marie Bestemeur. Tém. Mons. Chamberlan, médecin, Marie La Seine femme de Mons<sup>r</sup> Le Sueur, Susanne Noé femme de M<sup>r</sup> Louys Decoupeur.  
 1629, Mei 3. Jaques Voisin, fils de Charles V. et de Catherine Ruante. Tém. Hubert Le Sueur, sculteur du Roy et Jacquette Cadot, femme de Capitaine Jacques Michel.  
 1633, Sept. 8. Maximilian Cocquerel, fils de Jacques C. et de sa femme Marguerite Henin. Tém. Maximilien Poultrain, la femme de Mons<sup>r</sup> Le Sueur.  
 1633, Dec. 22. Marie Pinson, fille de Simon P. et de Nicole Dosart. Tém. Daniel Bousier, Marie femme de Hubert Le Sueur.  
 1638, Juin 24. David Loyer, fils de — et d'Anne Foyell. Tém. David Bouquet, ancien, la femme de Mons<sup>r</sup> Le Sueur, sculteur.  
 1638, Nov. 18. Susanne Denis, fille de Jaques D. et de Rachelle. Tém. Pierre Susu, Madame Le Sueur.  
 1639, Oct. 6. Marie Morice, fille de Nicolas M. Tém. Laurens Soubera, la femme de M<sup>r</sup> Le Sueur.  
 1641, Janv. 31. Abraham Parmentier, fils de Jean P. et de Catherine de Vanaseur. Tém. Hubert le Sueur, Anne Bauduin.

In a certificate of strangers living in London in 1635 Hubert Le Sueur is returned as living in St. Bartholomew's parish, and having three children, English born.

#### LANIER.

Some records of this interesting family are to be found in the Return of Aliens for 1571. In that for May, 1571, there occur:—

*Algate Warde—St Olyves.*

John Lanyarde, denizein and musician to the Quene's Ma<sup>ty</sup>, Frenchman, hath byn here nyne yeares.

*Tower Warde.* (Sojournour with Stephen de John, Italian, broker.)

Nicholas Lanere, Frenchman, musician, inhabiting here ix yerres.

The same persons occur again in the return for November, 1571.

*Sainte Olyves Parische in Hartstrete.*

John Lamuell (*sic*), Frenchman and musician, his wyfe and ij children, hathe byn here tenne yeares and are of the French Church.

*Tower Ward, Saint Olaves Parische.*

Nicholes Lanerd (*sic*), Frenchman, one of the Quenes Majesties Musicians. No church.

Among the records of the Exchequer Special Commission in the Record Office (No. 1365, 19 Elizabeth, 1577) is an *Inquisitio post mortem* into the estate of John Lanier, deceased, from which it appears that John Lanier was born at Rouen, in France, and was never naturalised in England, that he acquired property in Crutched Friars in the parish of St. Olave's, Hert Street, and that he died on 29th November, 1572, leaving a widow, Jane, who subsequently remarried one Jacobus Marcadye, surgeon, of the parish of St. Dunstan's in the West, and claimed to be his heir. On the other hand, among the administrations in the Prerogative Court of Canterbury (No. 115), is a grant of administration, dated 18th January, 1576-77, of the effects of

John Lanier, of St Olaves, Hert Street, dec'd, to Barbara Lanier, als Nivelet, the wife of Cardinus Nyvelet, and dau. of the dec'd;

—in the person of her said husband. Nicholas Lanier, who lived in the Tower Ward, may have been brother of this John Lanier, and is probably identical with the Nicholas Lanier who purchased lands at East Greenwich, and made his will 28th January, 1611-12, which was proved by his widow, Lucretia, on July 1 following (*Rochester Ven. Cal.*, xix., 514). Nicholas Lanier was one of the Queen's musicians and was the father of six sons, John, Alphonso, Innocent, Clement, Jerome and Andrea, who all held salaried posts as musicians in the Queen's service. John Lanier, the eldest son, who married Frances, the daughter of Mark Anthony Galliardello, another musician in the Queen's service, was the father of Nicholas Lanier, who was, in 1604, musician of the flutes in the service of Henry, Prince of Wales, and was of great repute in his day as a composer and a performer. He is said to have had a share in introducing the new Italian mode, or recitative.

On the accession of Charles I. he was appointed Master of the King's music, with a pension of 200*l.* a year.

• Soon after his accession, Charles I. sent Lanier off on a mission to Italy to collect pictures. He met and was painted by Van Dyck at Genoa, and is said to have been the cause of the King sending for Van Dyck to England. In 1636, a corporation in music was founded, known as "The Marshal, Wardens and Cominalty of the Arte and Science of Musicke in Westminster," of which Lanier was appointed first Marshal.

Lanier lost his posts during the Commonwealth, but regained them at the Restoration.

He died in February, 1665 or 1666.

Nicholas Lanier's sister, Judith, was the first wife of Edward Norgate, the herald-painter, with whom Van Dyck first lodged when he came to England in 1632, and who, according to Thomas Fuller, was "the best illuminer and limner of his age".

An account of the Lanier family will be found in the *Dictionary of National Biography*.

#### DAVID DES GRANGES.

Another miniature-painter, though by no means to be ranked with Isaac Oliver, appears in the registers of the French Church in Threadneedle Street. This was David des Granges, who was baptised there on 24th May, 1611, as the son of Sampson des Granges and Marie Bouvier, his wife. Samson des Granges was a native of Guernsey.

His brother, François Desgranges, was baptised there on 20th January, 1613, and among the witnesses to this baptism was "George Eriot, Ecossois," who can be no other than the famous George Heriot of Edinburgh, jeweller to James I., who came to London with his royal master in 1603.<sup>1</sup>

It is interesting in this connection to learn that the principal notice of David des Granges in later years is to be found in Scotland.

Des Granges appears in 1628 as an engraver, when he engraved the famous picture of St. George by Raphael, then in the collection of the Earl of Pembroke.

<sup>1</sup> The following additional entries in the Registers of the French Church refer to the famous George Heriot:—

#### BAPTISMS.

- 1603, July 14. Ester de Laune, fille de Gedeon de L. et de Judict Chambelain. Tém. Georges Heriot, Ester Papillon, femme de Abraham Chamberlan,—femme de de flunt Gascal.
- 1605, Sept. 29. George Foubert, fils des Daniel F. et de Marie Chauvin. Tém. Mons<sup>r</sup> George Heriote, M<sup>r</sup> Thomas Meflain, Madame Hardret femme de Martin Hardret.
- 1608, Avril 3. Janne Harderett, fille de Jacob H. Tém. George Heriott, Janne Dallin, Elisabeth femme de Baucenne.
- 1609, Janv. 22. Anne Cambrelan, fille de Pyerre C. et de Sara de Laune, sa femme. Tém. George Haryote, escocoys, Jacquemyne, femme de Jacques Garey, appotycayre, Jenne, femme de Jacques Lyme, Libraire.
- 1615, Oct. 10. David Sampson, fils d'Estienne S. et de Magdeleine Rocquigny, sa femme. Tém. M<sup>r</sup> George Herriot, exorsors, Anne Marie Calendrem, femme de David Papillon.

It is interesting in this connection to learn that the principal notice of David des Granges in later years is to be found in Scotland.

Des Granges appears in 1628 as an engraver, when he engraved the famous picture of St. George by Raphael, then in the collection of the Earl of Pembroke.

Subsequently he became a miniature-painter, and many miniatures by him are known, not quite first-rate, which bear his initials <sup>D</sup>G.

From a petition addressed by him to Charles II., we learn that Des Granges attended the young prince as limner during the time spent by Charles at Johnstown in Scotland, where the prince was delayed by illness. There he was employed by the King, and after many years still remained unpaid.

Des Granges died in 1675.

#### REGISTERS OF THE FRENCH CHURCH, THREADNEEDLE STREET.

##### BAPTISMS.

- 1611, May 24. David Des Granges, fils de Sampson des G. et de Marie Bouvier, sa femme. Tém. François Bouvier, M<sup>r</sup> David Drossert, Ester des Granges, femme d'Elie La Tellier.
- 1613, Jan. 20. François Des Granges, fils de Samson des G. et de Marie Bouvier sa femme. Tém. George Eriot, Ecossois, François Blondeau, Luce Frederic femme de François Bouvier ancien.
- 1615, Nov. 2. Sara Des Granges, fille de Sampson Des G. et de Marie Bouvier sa femme. Tém. Séverin Halle, Magdeleine Tellier, femme de Daniel Santhum, Elizabeth de Laulne, femme d'Abraham Blangy.
- 1622, Juil. 18. Elisabeth Des Granges, fille de Samson des G. et de Marie sa femme. Tém. Ezechiel Major, Elizabeth Quitrige, Anne femme de Gille du Bût.

##### MARRIAGE.

- 1609, Nov. 2. Samson Des Granges fils de Nicolas, natif de Guernsey, et Mary fille de François Bonnier (Bouvier?).

##### ISAAC DE CAUS.

On 1st November, 1627, there was baptised at the French Church, Threadneedle Street, Suzanne de Caus, daughter of Isaac de Caus and Marguerite, his wife. Was the father, Isaac de Caus of Dieppe, the architect, nephew or son of the famous Solomon de Caus, the architect and engineer, who has strong claims to rank among the inventors of the steam engine? Reference must be made to the *Dictionary of National Biography* for a further account of this most remarkable man.

PETITOT.

On 24th November, 1640, at the baptism of Jean de Croso. among the witnesses was Jean Petito.

Is there not here a note of the famous enamel painter, Jean Petitot, unrivalled in his domain of small portraits in enamel?

It is known that he came to England about 1635, and furthermore that he adopted the reformed religion and suffered persecution and exile in France on that account. He was introduced to Charles I. by the famous Sir Theodore Turquet de Mayerne, and remained in the King's service for about ten years.

After the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes in 1685, Petitot was imprisoned, but eventually allowed to return to Geneva. He died at Vevey in 1691, aged eighty-four.

DOMINICK MEISER.

In the Returns of Aliens for November, 1571, the parish of St. Thomas the Apostle, Ward of Bridge Without, occurs the entry:—

Domynick Meiser of Tholowse of thage of xxvij<sup>y</sup> yeres, in England iij yeres and half, came over for religion, by occupacion a carver in stone, having wieff Clara, of thage of xxj<sup>y</sup> yeres, borne at Parrys and two children, thone there borne, viz., Jeames, of iiij yeres, and Androwe xj monthes old, borne in England, and John Bodeare, of Vallence of thage of xxxv<sup>y</sup> yeres, in England iiij<sup>or</sup> moneths, came over for religion, seruant with the said Downicke.







CHÂTEAU DE LOURDES

## **The Sieges of Lourdes during the Wars of Religion.**

By IDA H. LAYARD.

IN the extreme South of France, at the foot of the Pyrenean range which divides that country from Spain, is a spot where seven valleys meet, opening out into a wide circle. There, rising in the form of a great war galley, is the fortress-crowned rock of ancient Lorda, the modern Lourdes.

The long and narrow prow of this stone vessel appears to be upheaved by waves or lifted by the force of the deep, swift water at its keel as it faces with lofty pride the dividing mountains and the retreating valley lines. On all sides the narrow portholes command the surrounding country, while from the keep, which answers to the poop or officers' deck of the galley, the eye may search the Valley of the Gave as far as the distant sun-setting; and whether an enemy approach from the ravines behind the green hills of Massabielle or the boulder-strewn steeps near the "Lac de Lourdes" he would be equally visible.

It is the year of grace, 1569.

Peering forth from the sentry post, at the narrow end of the rock terrace, only marshes and hills border the moat and the outlying houses of the old town, northwards; but behind them lies the long road to Tarbes—a city too near as an enemy, too far off as an efficient friend in time of peril.

The shabby town of Lourdes huddles along the side of the great rock, seeking shelter in its eastern shadows; for its two rows of ditches and its palisades are but a meagre defence against the hordes of vagabonds and marauders, noble and simple, who drop down when the mood takes them on her unvalled houses.

To be sure, there are eight watch towers to give the inhabitants due warning and to rouse the garrison of the castle, yet though it ranks as impregnable—"un chastel

impossible à prendre"<sup>1</sup>—the city is too easy of access to the enemy.

One tower (now incorporated in the chancel of the old Parish Church of St. Peter) once formed the gateway to the long trough of valleys towards Mongaillard and Bagnères.

The Tour de Ganarbie (now in ruins) stands at the end of the Rue du Bourg, the long, narrow street beneath the Castle Hill.

A third tower stands on a line with the Tour de Ganarbie at the upper end of the Rue du Bois (now Rue de la Grotte).

The road descended thence steeply between the rocks and woods and the two ponds called the big and little "Jew" to the old bridge over the Gave.

On this side the castle looks down with a more homely aspect upon the dun-coloured roofs.

The long rampart is shaded by the thick foliage of mighty elms, which have seen generations come and go. Iris in profusion border the raised terrace.

Even the fortress on this side is more peaceful. That which is thick stone and sheer precipice on the western side expands on this into a shady verandah, common to the homesteads in Bigorre. Through the glistening leaves the eye travels over the ranges of the Great and Little Ger, which are stony towards the sky line and velvety green at their base. Leaning over the parapet hard by the modest little chapel, the vision has no limit; it wanders into opal distances which the southern sun inundates with a soft ambient light, which is not a revealer but a hider of outlines.

But the light in the valleys in 1569 was but the glory of Nature; there was "if one look unto the land, behold darkness and sorrow, and the light is darkened in the heavens thereof".

To Huguenots, versed in the origins of the tumults which gradually overturned the whole peace of France, it is needless to enter upon the early years of the wars of religion, excepting as regards the provinces of Béarn and Bigorre.

The Castle of Lorda, or Lourdes, standing at the southern apex of a triangle drawn from Pau to Tarbes, and from both to Lourdes, was a fortress highly important as a key to the position of both plain and mountains.

It had already undergone six sieges:—

1. By Charlemagne, c. 800.

<sup>1</sup> Froissart.

2. By the Normans.
3. By Simon de Montfort, c. 1250.
4. By the English.
5. By Gauthier de Passac against the six famous captains, told so vividly by Froissart.
6. By the Duc d'Anjou under the English when their dominion ceased, in 1369.

It was in the year 1565 that the conflicts between Catholics and Huguenots began in the province of Bigorre.

A smuggler, named Jean Guillem, descended from the mountains of Aure, and putting himself at the head of a band of Protestants ravaged the country, making their headquarters in the Abbey of Lescaladien, from whence they intimidated the neighbourhood.

Lescaladien, being in a direct line up the valley eastward, was too near to prove a pleasant neighbour to the unprotected town of Lourdes or the plains of Béarn. The garrison of the fortress was increased and the defences strengthened, the valleys round being laid under heavy taxes for the purpose. For the present, Lourdes was left in peace owing to the promptitude of its Roman Catholic governor, Germain d'Antin, Seigneur d'Orout.<sup>1</sup> He besieged the Protestants at Lescaladien, captured many, and the leader, Jean Guillem, was put to death at Toulouse.<sup>2</sup>

That which began in Bigorre as a smugglers' raid was the precursor of far mightier troubles and weightier issues. The throes of the birth of Truth in the two sister provinces were not to be undergone without terrible pain and travail.

Unfortunately, side by side with the unseen growth of the seed of righteousness, the tares of party strife grew rank and wild, and it is hard to unravel whether love of right or lust of power were the stronger motive with either faction.

Jeanne d'Albret, by the death of her husband, Antoine de Bourbon, in 1562, reigned alone over the kingdom of Navarre and Béarn. Two years before his death, Antoine abandoned the Protestant faith, whilst she adopted it, and from that time the conversion of her people was the work of her remaining years. Romanists depict Jeanne d'Albret in the blackest colours; her apologists paint her as desirous of fair

<sup>1</sup> Germain d'Antin, Seigneur d'Orout, married 15th June, 1569, Louise, heiress of Orout, daughter of Bernard de Majouran, Seigneur d'Orout, and Marie de Lavedan.

Arms: "Ecu d'argent à 3 tourteaux de gueules, parti d'une clef de sable".  
<sup>2</sup> Lagrèze, *Histoire de Lourdes*, p. 177

may and a certain amount of toleration, as much as may be expected from the times in which she lived.

The Romanists, however, desired all for themselves, and the Queen's mandate, to worship freely and fairly without either side molesting the other, did not suit their views.<sup>1</sup>

The pastors were the first to suffer at their hands. At the head of the Romish party in Béarn, stirring up political strife, were Charles IX. and his mother, Catherine de Medici.

The religious question was merged in the danger that Béarn might be lost to the Queen of Navarre through the machinations of the French royal party, who were resolved upon annexing Navarre, Béarn and Albret. Jeanne d'Albret, the Queen, temporarily retreated for shelter to La Rochelle and her son, the Duke of Nemours, Henry and Catherine, rejoined the Protestants at the end of 1568.

The Council gave her comfort:—

"Que sa Majesté n'avoit les mers pour muraille, ni le ciel pour ceux de sa religion pour bastions. Dieu serait son rempart et sa forteresse, autant de tems qu'elle se feroit sa seule providence et lui obeiroit non seulement comme femme chrestienne, mais aussi comme Roynne".<sup>2</sup>

She then appointed to La Rochelle, the Queen of Navarre's lieutenant-general, Bernard d'Espagnac, Seigneur d'Arros et de Rode, a zealous Protestant.<sup>3</sup>

On September, 1568, the states of the county, at their ordinary sitting of their assembly under the presidency of Bernard de Cardaillac, Seigneur de Sarlabous, and the seignors of Bigorre, Arnaud, Baron d'Antin,<sup>4</sup> and Jean, Baron de Bazillac, in order to secure the safety of the country menaced by the

<sup>1</sup> Archives de la Cour, Basses-Pyrénées, B.B, 10. 28 mars,

<sup>2</sup> "I have seen for walls, nor those of her religion for bastions, as God would be her Rock, her rampart and her fortress, as long as she would be His providence and obeyed Him, not only as a Christian woman, but also as a Queen." *Extraire de Béarn et de Navarre*, Nicolas de

<sup>3</sup> *Extraire de Béarn*: the Château d'Arros is a small town (commune) on the left bank of the Gave de Pau, in the vallée à la bande d'argent chargée de trois

<sup>4</sup> *Extraire de Béarn*: chevalier, seigneur et baron d'Antin, seigneur de Bigorre, épousa Anne d'Andoins.

Thus in Béarn the country is ruled by a Huguenot, and over the border by Roman Catholics, both kingdoms being under the same sovereign.

Charles IX., pursuing his policy of annexation, appointed as his lieutenant in Gascony the notorious Captain Blaise de Monluc.

As a counter move, the Queen of Navarre ordered Gabriel de Lorges, Comte de Mongommery, to reconquer her rebellious provinces.

Between Monluc, the scourge of the Huguenots, and Mongommery, the terror of the Catholics, the wretched counties were in a panic.

On the 30th September of the same year (1568) the consuls at Tarbes address a letter to the consuls at Vic.<sup>1</sup>

They mention that Monluc is gone to Cahors, and that there is no leader in Bigorre.

"Nos frères et compagnons les consuls de Bagnères y ont déjà procédé [to prepare for war] vivement et ont 500 arquebusiers tout prêts, et dans la maison commune de la ville on fera forger autres cinq cens. . . . Les messieurs de Lourde ont recouvert des ouvriers que incessamment ne font que travailler. Et nous sera honte à voir et à nous que avons le moyen si nous n'en faisons autant. Car outre que nous en avons si bon moyen que eux, la nécessité et dangers nous sont plus evidens.

" . . . DE CAYRET, consul.

"PEES DE PRAT, consul."<sup>2</sup>

On the 9th December, 1568, a crusade was preached against the Huguenots in the diocese of Tarbes, entitled:—

Ordonnance en forme d'articles pour prêcher et organiser dans le Diocèse de Tarbes la Croisade contre les Huguenots.<sup>3</sup>

The *first* article calls it a "holy war".

The *second* says that the revenues of non-residents of the "religion prétendue réformée" shall be seized according to the edicts of the King.

<sup>1</sup> Bibliothèque de Tarbes, see "Huguenots en Bigorre," p. 112.

<sup>2</sup> "Our brothers and companions, the Consuls of Bagnères, are preparing vigorously for war and have five hundred arquebusiers ready armed, and in the town hall, five hundred more [arquebusses] will be forged. The authorities at Lourde have procured workmen who never cease from their labours. And it would be a shame to us who have the means, if we did less. For besides our having as good a means as they, our necessity and danger is more apparent."

<sup>3</sup> Decree setting forth articles to preach and organise a crusade against the Huguenots in the diocese of Tarbes.



As Charles IX. was in no wise King of Navarre or Béarn, still less of Bigorre, this was manifestly an insulting interference in the management of the country.

The *fourth* article ordered the crusade to be preached on Sundays.

The *seventh* that only such books should be read by scholars as should be permitted by the law.

The *tenth* that regiments be formed and ammunition collected to arm the towns and castles.

The *eleventh* that the castles be garrisoned.

The *thirteenth* that no religious discussions shall be allowed, neither shall any doubt be proposed upon the Catholic, Apostolic and Roman doctrine on pain of being punished according to the edicts of the King.

It was decreed at Tarbes on the 9th December, 1568, by Arnaud d'Antin and Jean Basilhac.

As before stated Tarbes was situated close to Lourdes, and an enemy besieging Tarbes would march in a very short space of time to Lourdes.

The people of Tarbes feared the arrival of Mongommery, but this was deferred for nearly a year, during which time the terrors of persecution increased to an awful extent. Bernard d'Arros was powerless to defend the innocent, for the towns opened their gates to the enemy. The pastors and their flocks were massacred, or hanged by a pretence of justice.

These persecutions hastened the advent of Mongommery. He crossed by forced marches from Castres to besiege Terride at Navarrens in the month of August, 1569. He bore down on Bigorre with the viscounts and a great troupe of their accomplices, rebels and enemies of the King and public security; passing into the country of Béarn to raise and break up the camp which held for the King before the town of Navarrens, the Seigneur de Terride being guide and leader.

The celebrated general crossed the plain of Tarbes on the 5th and 6th August, 1569. The weather was very bad, as we learn from a letter from the inhabitants of the Valley of Aure, that valley which extends from Bagnères de Bigorre to the Spanish frontier.

They wrote to "Messieurs les Consuls et gardes de Bagnères":—

"GENTLEMEN,—On account of the bad weather . . . we have not wished to start, also because the men of Campan [a village half-way up the valley and within sight of

Bagnères] have assured us that the enemy has nearly passed.

" From Ancizan, 7th August, 1569.

" Your 'entire' friends,

" THE INHABITANTS OF THE VALLEY OF AURE."<sup>1</sup>

So speedily and warily had Mongommery passed with his little army of seven viscounts and their followers, that neither Montluc nor the Maréchal de D'Amville had discovered him, when, like a hurricane, he fell upon Bigorre. The seven viscounts were: De Bruniquet, De Caumont, De Montamat, De Serignac, De Paulin, De Rapin and De Montclar.

Their route lay from Mazères across the river Ariège to Saint Gaudens, the "côteau" or hill of Rustan, over the heights of Saint Sever, by Lannemezan and Trie to Mongaillard; they then crossed the Adour, and went from thence to Laloubère and Ibos, leaving on their right Tarbes, where M. le Chevalier de Villembits, lieutenant of Charles IX., was encamped with 2,000 men.

Then on to Pontacq, which they reached on the 6th of August.

On the 7th they entered Bénéjac, where Montamat rejoined them.

They crossed the wide Gave at Coarraze, where the magnificent mountain range of the Pyrenees burst on their eyes, towering up above the green woods, and the wide stretch of pebbly river bed shining white in the foreground.

When Terride heard that Mongommery had reached Coarraze he decamped with his army and went to Mauléon, in the province of Soule, and on to Orthez, which he reached on the 8th August. On the next day Mongommery entered and delivered Navarrens.<sup>2</sup>

Noble François d'Ybos, who testifies to the wild and destructive descent of Mongommery upon Bigorre, was one of several witnesses to a document, of which the original was in the archives of the Chapter House at Tarbes, entitled: "Ravages made by the Huguenots in the County of Bigorre". The original was burnt, but a precious copy had already been made by one of the chapter, Canon Girard.

The "inquiry" which was held before Guillaume Abbaye, lieutenant-principal of the Sénéchal of Bigorre, consists of fifteen articles—to prove that in 1569, on the 6th of August,

<sup>1</sup> Archives Bagnères de Bigorre, see "Huguenots en Bigorre".

<sup>2</sup> *Histoire de la Province et Comté de Bigorre*, par l'Abbé Colomez, p. 98.

Mongonmery (the name is spelt either with two successive m's or with n and m) and his viscounts invaded the diocese of Tarbes.

The *fifth* article mentions the march to Lourdes, and the *sixth* the taking of the château.

François d'Ybos continued his lamentable deposition, wherein it is to be observed that he mentions no wanton murders, only the ruination of churches and convents: "Who whilst making the said journey began in the said diocese to burn, pillage and sack the Church of Lanemasan" ruining numberless other churches, of which he gives the names of sixty-two.

On the 1st September, 1569, Mongonmery sacked Tarbes and its cathedral, after which he retired into Gascony, burning forty-seven churches on his road. Whilst the fire-brand was absent, his Viscounts rushed into Bigorre up the valley of the Gave de Pau, till they reached the straggly village of St. Pé, with its rich monastery and quaint old church. There they burnt both church and abbey and eighty houses; "thence they proceeded to Lourdes, burnt the church, the priest's house, and many others, and pillaged the town as I, who have myself seen the ruins, do testify."

Another witness, the notary of Ibos, Jacques Abeuxis, added his testimony: "Mongomery, partant dudit pays de Bigorre et Béarn, laissa le seigneur de Montamat avec grandes forces audit pays de Béarn, lequel avec la faveur du seigneur d'Arros et le baron son fils et autres capitaines descendirent audit pays de Bigorre . . . allèrent en la ville de Lodes et Bagnères, lesquelles rançonnèrent et contrainquirent à leur obédience, bruslèrent toutes les églises desdits cartiers et pays de Montagne, sauf celle dudit Bagnères".<sup>1</sup>

By this we see that Mongonmery did not besiege Lourdes in person. Bernard, Baron d'Arros, the Queen's governor-general, endeavoured to bring back the castle to its allegiance.<sup>2</sup> His eldest son Jacques<sup>3</sup> went with

<sup>1</sup> "Huguenots en Bigorre," Documents pour servir à l'histoire de Bigorre, p. 196.

<sup>2</sup> Bernard d'Espalungue, baron d'Arros, seigneur de Bosdarros, eldest son of Jean, baron d'Arros, épousa Gabrielle de Lordat fille de Gabriel de Lordat, seigneur d'Unzent et de Castagnac, et de Françoise d'Espagne-Durfort.

<sup>3</sup> Jacques d'Arros épousa le 21 juin 1571 Jeanne de Béarn, fille héritière de Jean de Béarn, seigneur de Bescat et de Rebenac. He died, like his brother, before his father, leaving one daughter Elizabeth, dame d'Arros, who married Pierre de Gontaud-Biron, seigneur de Salaignac, author of the Branch Gontaut-Arros.

...en killed a few months  
 ...  
 ... de Montamat, headed the  
 resistance. The city was  
 ... seigneur de Bonasse in  
 "vaillant," according to Bran-  
 "guerrier," says the Protestant  
 ... and with him Carrebaque  
 "creek," ever radiant and remark-  
 ...  
 ... to Lourdes follows the windings  
 ... and elm trees grow on the farther  
 ... the very water's edge and cast deep  
 ... in the still borders of the river,  
 ... the swift centre current dashes  
 ... over unseen rocks.  
 ... the long ridge of the great mountain  
 ... historic chameleon, prone from east to  
 ... white with its stony nails.  
 ... village of Perousse sped the army, past the  
 ... left hand, where the boulders, scattered  
 ... ashwood, look like a petrified multitude.  
 ... the faces the advancing troops.  
 ... and approach to the castle take a wide  
 ... ops can give battle. Between them and the  
 ... tations is a steep descent through the trees to  
 ... in, in this year 1569 bathed the foot of the  
 ... up to the south the army came to the back of  
 ... re, at the ditches and palisades at the end of  
 ... during the fight must have begun.  
 ... the chief entrance to the castle, whereby alone  
 ... an approach. The other, consisting of a long  
 ... ps, is a good way up the street.  
 ... picture to ourselves the attack. Up the sloping  
 ... to the moat, storms one half of the army, sacking,  
 ... and burning, until the Place is reached, with its  
 ... bounding the parish church. Up the steps, on to  
 ... the round the church, never heeding the graves;  
 ... dark vaulted building, rendered darker by the old  
 ... rk.  
 ... the fire bursts out on all sides in the dirty, narrow

... d'Astarac, son of Jean Jacques d'Astarac, seigneur de Fontrailles,  
 de Narbonne.

Mongonmery (the name is spelt m's or with n and m) and his visit of Tarbes.

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François d'Ybos continued his wherein it is to be observed that murders, only the ruination of "Who whilst making the said jurisdiction to burn, pillage and sack the ruining numberless other churches names of sixty-two.

On the 1st September, 1569, Mont and its cathedral, after which he burning forty-seven churches on his brand was absent, his Viscounts rural valley of the Gave de Pau, till the village of St. Pé, with its rich monastic church. There they burnt both eighty houses; "thence they proceeded church, the priest's house, and man the town as I, who have myself seen

Another witness, the notary of It added his testimony: "Mongomery, Bigorre et Béarn, laissa le seigneur grandes forces audit pays de Béarn, le seigneur d'Arros et le baron son fils descendirent audit pays de Bigorre . . de Lordes et Bagnères, lesquelles se traignirent à leur obédience, bruslèrent desdits cartiers et pays de Montagn Bagnères".<sup>1</sup>

By this we see that Mongomery Lourdes in person. Bernard, Baron governor-general, endeavoured to bring to its allegiance.<sup>2</sup> His eldest son

<sup>1</sup> "Huguenots en Bigorre," Documents pour servir p. 196.

<sup>2</sup> Bernard d'Espalungue, baron d'Arros, seigneur of Jean, baron d'Arros, épousa Gabrielle de L Lordat, seigneur d'Unzent et de Castagnac, et Durfort.

<sup>3</sup> Jacques d'Arros épousa le 21 juin 1571 Jean de Jean de Béarn, seigneur de Bescat et de R brother, before his father, leaving one daughter who married Pierre de Gontaud-Biron, seigneur Branch Gontaut-Arros.

rampart and triple defence of wall with its look-out over the Valley of Lavedan the arquebusiers harass their rear.

Within the gate the *mêlée* is terrible, for it is simply a stone well with stairs as an exit upwards to the castle terrace. Flat walls, still higher than the last, rear themselves above the well, with nine slits of danger. Little inner platforms are thronged with men at arms. Literally step by step the ascent is conquered. The twenty-eight stairs up to the arched entrance in the stern wall are packed with dead. There the enemy is again delayed. One barred wooden gate arrests them, and then another, but the human torrent with steady surge and roar emerges through the flat roofed passage on to the terrace to mingle with the other human flood already issuing through the square gateway.

Horses and men, Béarnais and Bigorrais, Gascons and Navarrais, brothers, sons, cousins—all hand-to-hand in one tremendous shock of war, to bring peace and truth to the broad plains and the mountain heights lying sweet and fair in the sunlight beyond the terrace.

Did the little chapel on their right (humble intercessor with heaven for God-forgetting men), did it speak no warning from its eerie height? Did the mountains proclaim no message of peace? Did the golden lilies on the white banner of France—emblem of the Annunciation—heralds of man's salvation—did they not plead for life instead of death?

“Nay; but rather division.”<sup>1</sup>

The Protestants, having conquered the castle, confided the governorship of it to Noble Assibat de Badie-Casenave, Seigneur d'Espalungue, commonly called Captain Casavant.<sup>2</sup>

The Roman Catholic governor of the town and castle, instead of being at his post, was away “a’wooing” and marrying. He, the Capdet Bertrand d’Antin, Sieur de la Carthe, had just married, on the 3rd August, Gabrielle de Cardaillac, daughter of Jean de Cardaillac, Seigneur d’Ozon.<sup>3</sup>

Montluc, at this time, was active in the north of the country, having taken on the 14th September, 1569, the town of Mont-de-Marsan. This victory, says the Protestant Nicolas de Bordenave, “remit le cœur au ventre aux

<sup>1</sup> Luke xii. 51.

<sup>2</sup> Captain Casavant married on the 9th August, 1562, Catherine de Bescat-Espalungue.

<sup>3</sup> Contract of marriage by Jean Bruno, notary at Tournay, in the archives of M. le Marquis de Castelbajac in the Castle of Barbazan.

catholiques, tellement que ceux de Bigorre reprinrent la ville de Lourdes, et le château leur fut rendu fort laschement par Lestrem, lieutenant de Caseban, qui pour ceste lacheté fut pendu à Pau".<sup>1</sup>

Mongonmery was furious at the failure of D'Arros's enterprise. He wrote from Salies-en-Béarn on the 5th October to M. de Lons, governor of the Château de Pau :—<sup>2</sup>

"Au reste, si tost que je seray par delà . . . je vous prie de faire vuidier le procès du lieutenant du Cappitaine Casavant, car je ne desire que tals traistres demeurent impugnis. . . . Je vous rappel le dit gentilhomme et ses chevaliers, et quel homme!"<sup>3</sup>

After expending his ire in threats against the Roman Catholics, he begs M. de Lons to send him fresh butter from Bagnères, and signs himself

"vostre antièrement bon amy

"G[ABRIEL] MONGONMERY".<sup>4</sup>

On the 14th October, 1569, Jean de Durban, Seigneur de Labassère, wrote in Béarnais to

"Messieurs, messieurs les Juratz de la ville de Banarexs [*i.e.* Bagnères] et tôt lo quoarteron [le quartier] à Banarexs."<sup>5</sup>

"Messieurs de juratz de la ville de Baneress et tolz autres den quoarteron, nous vous advertim que au jorn de oey qui es dimerxs vous aseguram que monsieur lo compte a escriut à monsieur de Lons que fasse marchar son camp seguond que avem entendut que marchabe dret à Lorde, et lo canon sera a noeyt dedentz la ville de Pau, per marchar en abant sans aucune faute."<sup>6</sup>

The Governor of Pau also wrote to the Consuls on the same day :—

<sup>1</sup> "Gave heart to the Catholics, so much so that the inhabitants of Bigorre retook the town of Lourdes, and the castle was surrendered to them most treacherously by Lestrem, Caseban's lieutenant, who for this treachery was hanged at Pau." *Histoire de Béarn et de Navarre, Bordenave*, pp. 286-88.

<sup>2</sup> Jean, Sgr. and Baron de Lons, son of Jean de Lons, Baron de Lons, and Catherine de Begolle.

<sup>3</sup> "I beg you to order that the trial of the Lieutenant of Captain Casavant be terminated, for I do not wish such traitors to go scot free. . . . Let me remind you of the said gentleman and his knights! What a man!"

<sup>4</sup> "Huguenots en Bigorre," pp. 46, 47.

<sup>5</sup> Autograph letters; Archives communales de Bagnères de Bigorre; Recueil de P. Laspales.

<sup>6</sup> "Councillors of the town of Bagnères and all others of the quarter, we warn you that to-day, which is Wednesday, and assure you that Monsieur le Comte has written to M. de Lons that he will make his camp march, as you have already heard, straight upon Lorde, and that the cannon will be this evening in the town of Pau, to advance without fail."





CHÂTEAU DE LOURDES.



"MESIEURS MESIEURS DE BANHERES,

"Mesieurs de Banheres . . . je m'en vays à Lorde pour la charge que j'é les fere entendre de la volonté de Monsieur le comte ensemble de voz advertir que ne falhiés à porter l'argent. Voz pourrés me trouver auprès de Lorde ou bien icy pour fere marcher l'artillerié; et combien que ayés donné ocasion à Monsieur le comte de ne tenir la promesse, je feray tant pour voz que le camp ne viendra point à Banhères, proven que veniés là part où je seré pour satisfere à la reste: et hastés vous; car si passés les six jours, ne sera plus tampz. Vous me trouverés en bonne companhie, là où pouvés venir en toute aseurance. . . . Voz pourrez venir à Ossun en toute aseurance, ou à Pontacq, ou auprès de Lorde, là où je vous feré entendre entièrement la volonté de Monsieur le Comte: car il fault que veniés pour vostre profit parler à moy sans aller alieus, car si aliez alheurs . . ."

The rest of the letter, one line, is worn away by time, and its mysterious menace of danger incomplete.

Perhaps the trembling fingers of Messieurs the Consuls passed the governor's letter from hand to hand, and clutched at the sheet to gather from it a promise of safety, which Mongonmery's reputation rendered a broken reed on which to rely.

The letter caused much agitation in the city. The very same day that the letter was written it must have been carried by a swift rider to Bagnères, for a legal meeting was held on the same date. The notary, De Capdeville, took down the minutes:—

"14 Octobre, 1569. Conseil.

"En la ville de Bagnères, dans le couvent des frères Jacopins, le XIII<sup>e</sup> octobre milV<sup>e</sup>LXIX assemblés les

<sup>222</sup> GENTLEMEN OF BANHÈRES . . .

"I am going to Lorde to fulfil my mission which is to make them understand, by desire of Monsieur le Comte, that ye shall be warned that they fail not to bring in the money. You will find me near Lorde, or at any rate here [it is not mentioned *where*], putting the artillery in motion, and although you have given occasion to M. le Comte not to keep his promise, yet I will do so much for you that the camp shall not go to Banhères, provided that you come thither where I shall be, to satisfy concerning the remaining matters; and make haste, for if the six days elapse it will no longer be time. You will find me in good company, there, where you can come in all safety. . . . You can come to Ossun in all safety, or to Pontacq, or to the town of Lourdes, there I will expound to you the whole will of M. le Comte. For you must come for your own advantage to speak without going elsewhere, for if ye go elsewhere . . ."

habitants dudit Bagnères pour traicter des comunz affaires, presens et assistans Ramond Jean Besques, Jean Begola, Jacques Payssan et Guillem-Ramond Uzer, consulz, a esté remonstré comment Mons<sup>r</sup> de Lons a envoyé lettre missive contenant que M. le Comte de Montgomery s'en vient droict à Lourde avec le canon, et de là en ceste ville, si l'on ne fait prompte diligence d'envoyer le reste de la promesse: et par ainsin que l'on y determine, afin que si mal en advient, iceulx consulz n'en soient cause pour ne l'avoir remonstré: que le dit S<sup>r</sup> de Lons demande burre, milhas et coloms: aussy que ceulx de Lourde sont venuz declairer si l'on leur eult bailler secours contre l'enemy: et qu'il y a soldatz en ceste ville qui ne se veulent retirer à leur garnison. Sur quoy chascune dez rues se estant retirés à part y ont ordonné comme s'ensuict".<sup>1</sup>

The assembly was held in the Jacobite convent; the old house with its slender tower received an agitated throng, increased by the messengers from Lourdes. After their deliberations the people of each street or quarter retired, and the following decisions were resolved on: That those who had money should bring their quota and that the soldiers who wished might go home; and that "on face response à ceulx de Lourde qu'il n'y a de gens pour leur bailler secours pour le present," etc.

With this unsatisfactory answer, the Consuls dismissed the envoy from Lourdes.

On the 21st October, 1569, Mongomery styles himself "Lieutenant-general of the King in Guyenne from the banks of the Dordogne as far as the mountains of the Pyrenees, in the absence and by the authority of the Princes of Navarre and Condé".

<sup>1</sup> "Huguenots en Bigorre," p. 67.

"Council,

"In the town of Bagnères, in the Convent of the Jacobin brethren, the 14th October, one thousand five hundred and sixty-nine, the inhabitants of the said Bagnères being assembled to discuss public affairs, being present and assisting Raymond John Besques, John Begola, James Payssan, and William-Raymond Uzer, consuls. It was shown how Monsieur de Lons sent a letter by hand containing the news that the Count of Montgomery was coming straight to Lourde with his cannon, and from thence to this town, if prompt diligence were not taken to send the remainder of their promise; and that this should be resolved upon, so that if harm came, the consuls would not be responsible for not having warned them; the said Seigneur de Lons demands butter, millet and "coloms" (?): Also there are come from Lourde to ask if they will not grant them succour against the enemy, also there are soldiers in the town who do not wish to return to their garrisons. Upon which each of the streets retired aside and ordered that which follows."

conjunction is a strange one, for the King of France was the most decided enemy which the young princes of Navarre and Condé, respectively aged sixteen and fifteen, had to fear.

The game of chess was being played vigorously and boldly. Checks were met with counterchecks, and Jeanne d'Albret said that concessions could no longer be granted to her Catholic subjects, but that a firm stand must be taken.

A month after the treacherous surrender of the Castle of Lézardourdes, the Queen of Navarre declared she would punish those who had betrayed her in her own kingdom by taking away from them the free right to a religion which permitted them to abolish the one which she professed herself, and she issued a proclamation to that effect.

"Préambule de l'ordonnance du 29 Nov. 1569, rendue par d'Arros et Montamat, lieutenants-généraux de la reine de Navarre.<sup>1</sup>

"Quoique dans la France, les réformés eussent pris les armes pour la défense de leur vie, de leur culte et de leur liberté, que les édits leur accordaient, et qu'on voulait leur ôter, ainsi qu'à la reine et à ses enfants dont on méditait la ruine; toutefois elle ne s'était point permis d'enfreindre ces édits (accordant à chacun la liberté de conscience); elle s'y était conformée au contraire, en laissant à tous ses sujets la liberté respective des exercices de leur religion; mais au lieu de répondre à ces honnêtes procédés, plusieurs de ses sujets, les uns à découvert, les autres en secret, ont machiné, traîné des révoltes contre elle, pris ses villes, aboli la religion véritable, rétabli la romaine, mis à mort les ministres, fait administrer la justice au nom d'un autre prince, supprimé son autorité et blessé son honneur par une infinité d'attentats."

Meanwhile Mongonmery returned with his viscounts to

<sup>1</sup> "Documents pour servir à l'histoire de la Réforme en Béarn," par Léon Cadier, *Bulletin du Protestantisme*, 1886. Partie ii., p. 9.

<sup>2</sup> "Although in France, the Protestants had taken up arms for the defence of their lives, their worship, and their liberty, which the Edicts granted them, and of which it was sought to deprive them, as well as the Queen and her children—whose ruin they plotted, yet she [the Queen] had not ventured to infringe these Edicts (granting to each one liberty of conscience); on the contrary she had conformed herself to them, leaving to all her subjects, liberty to respectively exercise their religion. But instead of complying with these honest proceedings, several of her subjects, some openly, some secretly, had planned and hatched revolts against her, taken her towns, abolished the true religion, re-established the Roman, put to death her ministers, and administered justice in the name of another prince, suppressed her authority and wounded her honour by a multitude of outrages."



Montauban, where Coligny joined him ; Montluc by reason of this conjunction of troops was obliged to take shelter in Agen, and Coligny scoured the " fair country of Agenais " with his reitres, and kept it quiet until the spring.

Lourdes during this time served as a robbers' den for the three captains, François de Béarn, Seigneur de Bonasse, Poudenx and Esgarrebaque (or Carrebaque). From their nest they descended into the valley and continually harassed the Protestants, venturing one day as far as Coarraze, and surprising the town and castle, which belonged to M. de Pardies Miossens. Only the remonstrances of Poudenx kept his company from bloodshed.

Later, these gentlemen, yielding to the wishes of the unfortunate inhabitants of the city of Tarbes, who were continually besieged and pillaged, took up their residence there to protect them.

Mezieres, a contemporary historian, says : " Bonasse was glad to exchange his sojourn at Lourdes, surrounded with rocks, for Tarbes, whose foundations are laid in a good and fertile country ".

Bonasse and his friends could not ward off attacks. Montamat returned in April of the next year, 1570. A city without any means of defence could not hold out. Bonasse resolved to retreat again to the surer stronghold of Lourdes, but ere he could do so Tarbes was betrayed to Montamat by a lieutenant also of the name of Bonasse. The Seigneur de Bonasse was killed ; Poudenx was recognised by his yellow satin coat and his life spared.

For the next two years Lourdes appears to have remained unmolested by either party. The Peace of St. Germain in 1571, however insincere and brief it was, brought quiet for a time.

The next year witnessed four important events : the death of Jeanne d'Albret, the accession of the " Béarnais " to the throne of Navarre, the massacre of St. Bartholomew, and the first abjuration of Henry of Navarre to save his skin.

As a result of this abjuration (" abjuration of the lip," d'Aubigny called it) Henry published on the 16th of October, 1572, an edict by which he re-established the Catholic religion in his States, ordered the pastors out of the country unless they abjured, and commissioned the Comte de Gramont, his lieutenant-general, to be over the kingdom in order to carry out the edict.

Gramont had sailed with the current, and abjured also.

He began his converting policy soon after the 6th March, 1573. Alarm seized the Protestant party. D'Arros, whom Henry of Navarre had bidden keep the ecclesiastical government in the same condition in which Jeanne d'Albret had left it, could not believe that his master really desired this change of affairs. With thirty-eight men D'Arros surprised the Château d'Hagetmau and seized the Comte de Gramont, bringing him back a prisoner on the 17th April, 1573. On the 2nd July following he defended his capture and exposed his views to his offended master. He assures the King, whom he asserts to be Protestant at heart, that: "Je n'ai eu onques rien en plus grande recommandation que de retenir vos sujets en leur devoir et ès limites et bornes de ce pays, avec inhibitions et deffences de ne courir lesdites terres, à quoi ils ont rendu l'obéissance que j'en pouvois désirer et jusques à ce qu'ils ont esté outrageusement provoqués, comme ils sont encore tous les jours par de courses ordinaires que font les sujets du roy, pour lesquels chasser hors de vos pays, ils pourroient en les poursuivant avoir esté trouvés hors d'iceux . . . à Pau le Mercredi 2 de juillet 1573".<sup>1</sup>

A few days later, on the 9th, he wrote again on the same subject, and sent it by M. de Rambouillet to the King, who was at the time at La Rochelle.

D'Arros was sore at heart. The month previous he had been chased from the town of Lourdes by the mountaineers of Lavedan, headed by Pierre de Majouran, Seigneur de Vieuzac, near Argèlès in the Valley of Lavedan.<sup>2</sup> The baron and three thousand Béarnais had taken possession on the 8th June of the town without being able to conquer the castle.<sup>3</sup>

The troops had pillaged and sacked it, whilst the townspeople took refuge in the castle, and were commanded by the Captains Manas, Estivaire and Caubotte.<sup>4</sup>

When the inhabitants of the long valley of Lavedan heard

<sup>1</sup> "Nothing has lain nearer my heart than to hold your subjects in their duty and in the limits and bounds of this country with prohibitions and forbiddings to scour the country, to which they gave all the obedience I could desire of them, until they were outrageously provoked, as they are every day by such ordinary courses as are made by the King's subjects; in chasing the same out of your country, they may have been found in pursuit of them out of bounds." Old manuscript entitled "Preuves," being documents collected at the end of the seventeenth century by a Roman Catholic from the archives of the Parlement de Navarre.

<sup>2</sup> Pierre, son of Raymond-Arnaud de Majouran, Seigneur de Domec, and Prexac, and of Antonia de Barèges, dame de Vieuzac.

<sup>3</sup> See *Histoire de la Province et Comté de Bigorre*, by the Abbé Colomez.

<sup>4</sup> See *Glanage de Larcher*, tom. xvi., p. 329.



of the blockade the alarm was given and they rose in defence of the stronghold, the key to their fastnesses. Its people, to the number of 1,000, with Pierre de Majouran in command, advanced up the valley to the succour of the castle, and were joined by the Captains d'Ourout, de Cazavant, d'Estivaire and de Pontac.

A thousand men were left to guard the passage of the "Pont-Neuf," the rest of the combined troops hurled themselves upon the town with a sustained musketry fire.

Whilst d'Ourout ("homme fort courageux si autre de son temps"<sup>1</sup>) drew the Huguenots by a skirmish outside the town, the rest succeeded in reinforcing the garrison of the castle. This skirmish nearly cost d'Ourout his life, for his horse was shot under him. D'Arros, instead of being the besieger, now fell into the dangerous predicament of being in a town whose defences he had himself burned to the ground. The castle harassed him continually from above, and the inhabitants of the valleys guarded all the mountain passes.

There was only the way of the plains open, by St. Pé and Coarraze back into Béarn. By this road the unfortunate d'Arros was compelled to retreat, ignominiously repulsed by the Catholic troops.

The castle was left in charge of the townspeople, under Manas, Estivaire and Caubotte, and the army of succour, with the thousand men encamped at the Pont-Neuf, dispersed to their own homes.

The province of Bigorre had rid herself of her detested neighbours of Béarn; and Gramont, with the ardour of a "nouveau converti," proceeded to bring the towns back to the faith of their chameleon-skinned sovereign.

In 1574 he ordered two pieces of cannon to be brought to Lourdes, and fortified the town, putting troops also in the surrounding valleys and in his own "châteaux" of Seméac, Asté and Laffitote.

In the spring the purport of the two cannon was made known, for the new governor laid siege to Tarbes, which had been taken by treachery by the Huguenot Lizier. The two cannon were taken to Tarbes and rendered effectual service, for the town was conquered on the 9th May, 1574. In April, 1575, a temporary peace prevailed, for the King of Navarre and his sister Catherine took the ill-fated province

<sup>1</sup> *Essais sur le Bigorre*, Davezac Macaya, tom. ii., p. 202.

under their protection. Also by this time Henri had resumed the Protestant faith, and the Huguenots were, for the nonce, in the upper scale of the balance.

Henri d'Albret, Baron de Miossens, replaced the Baron d'Arros in the government of the country, and Captain Antoine d'Incamps, Seigneur de Lamothe et d'Abere, husband of Bertrande d'Espalungue, was placed in command of the castle. The city of Lourdes had now time to breathe, but its condition was that of a bruised and battered creature panting back to life.

In a roll of taxes of the estates of the County of Bigorre, assembled on the 6th, 7th, 8th and 9th January, 1577, before the Sénéchal of Tarbes, are two entries concerning the town:—<sup>1</sup>

“ Aux medecins de Lorde et de Sen Pé 50 livres.

“ Aux consulz de la ville de Lorde, à considération des ruynes et fraix soufferts pour la prinse de la ville, du tems que le baron de Ros (d'Arros) y vint avec le camp de Béarn a esté ordonné 60 livres.”<sup>2</sup>

Under the gentle regency of Catherine of Navarre, Bigorre enjoyed a quieter period, whilst its master was “ fighting for the crown ” of France.

Yet, beneath the calm, trouble was always lurking, and Catherine addresses on the 19th June, 1582, a letter to her faithful servant to warn him to be on his guard against attacks:—

“ AU CAPPITAINE INCAMPS, CAPPITAINE DU CHASTEAU DE LOURDES.

“ Cappitaine Incamps, combien que je suis asseurée du soing et diligence qu'avez à bien conserver et garder le chasteau de Lourdes, selon le commandement que le Roi, monsieur mon frère vous a donné et derechef reiteré au dernier voïage qu'il a fait en ce país, toutes fois, affin de vous rementevoir la volonté de mon dit frère, j'ay bien voulu vous escrire ceste-cy, et vous prier par icelle de vous tenir tousjours sur voz gardes, de peur qu'aucune embusche ou surprise puisse estre executée sur ledict chasteau par aucuns turbulans et seditieux, procureurs du mal et non du bien. En ce faisant ung chacun sera incité à croire que vous estes

<sup>1</sup> The “ Sénéchal de Tarbes ” was Bernaud de Montaut, Baron de Bigorre, from the end of the year 1576.

<sup>2</sup> *Huguenots en Bigorre*, p. 228.

très fidelle executeur de vostre charge. Sur ce je prie Dieu. cappitaine Incamps qu'il vous veuille tenir en sa garde.

"De Pau, ce XVIII jour de juing, 1582,

"vostre bonne amye,

"CATHERINE DE NAVARRE."<sup>1</sup>

Incamps was found efficient and faithful, and was still at his post in the year 1587. The King of Navarre had full confidence in his sound sense, capability, loyalty, knightliness, experience and good diligence.

The town of Lourdes was too important a fortress to be neglected, and the garrison required to be maintained and paid. On all the valleys of Lavedan, from Lourdes as far as Spain, and on all the town of Lourdes, with the neighbouring villages of St. Pé and Peyrousse, a tax of one hundred *écus* was to be levied, and as fairly as could be done.

To this effect Henry wrote from La Rochelle on the 31st January, 1587 :—

"Ordonnance du Roi de Navarre adressée au Capitaine Incamps pour lever sur la ville de Lourdes et sa juridiction la somme de cent écus sol destinée à l'entretien de la garnison de Lourdes.

"(Copie du xvi. siècle, Archives Hautes-Pyrénées, Série E.)<sup>2</sup>

"HENRY, PAR LA GRACE DE DIEU, ETC. . . .

"Au Cappitaine Incamps, commandant au chasteau de Lourde, salut. Comme il soit besoin de pourvoir à la seurté et conservation des places de nostre gouvernement, et nommement dudit chasteau de Lourde, pour l'importance d'iceluy, à ce qu'il ne puisse tomber en inconvenient et danger de surprise par les ennemis de cet estat et du juste

<sup>1</sup> "Captain Incamps, although I am confident of the care and diligence that you put to preserve and keep the Castle of Lourdes, according to the commands that the King, my brother, gave you and reiterated afresh in his last journey in this country, however, in order to recall to you the will of my said brother, I have the pleasure to write you this, and to beg you herewith to be always on your guard, for fear of any ambush or surprise which might be executed on the said Château by any turbulent or seditious folk, malefactors and not benefactors. If you carry this out, every one will be moved to believe that you are a very faithful performer of your duty. Upon which I pray God, Captain Incamps, to have you in His keeping.

"From Pau, this 18th day of June, 1582,

"Your good friend,

"CATHERINE OF NAVARRE."

Archives des Hautes-Pyrénées, Série E: see *Huguenots en Bigorre*, p. 233.

<sup>2</sup> *Huguenots en Bigorre*, p. 234.

party que nous soutenons, et par mesme moyen pourvoir aussy à l'entretienement de la garnison dudit chasteau ; pour cette cause, et nous à plein confians de vos sens, suffisance, loyauté, prudence, experience et bonne diligence, vous avons commis, député et ordonné, commettons, deputons, et ordonnons par ces presentes pour dorenavant et par chacun mois, à commencer du premier jour de decembre dernier, imposer et lever sur tous les habitants de la ville de Lourde et juridiction d'icelle, de la ville de Saint Pé, Peyrouse et sur les quartiers des montagnes depuis ledit Lourde en haut jusques en Espagne tirant par la valée de Lavedan, la somme de cent escus sol, et icelle egaler sur chacun des habitans des dits lieux le plus justement que faire se pourra, le fort portant le faible, et à ce faire contraindre ou faire contraindre au payement de leur part et cotité les refusantz et delayantz par emprisonnement de leurs personnes et par toutes autres voyes et manieres deues et raisonnables, comme pour les propres deniers et affaires du Roy mon seigneur, pour estre la ditte somme receue par tel personnage fidelle et capable que sera par vous avisé, et employée à l'entretienement de la ditte garnison, suivant notre vouloir, etc. . . .

"Donné à La Rochelle le dernier jour de janvier l'an mille cinq cens quatre vingtz sept.

"HENRY.

(Countersigned) "LALLIER."<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> "Decree of the King of Navarre addressed to Captain Incamps in order to tax the town of Lourdes and its jurisdiction to the amount of one hundred crowns destined for the maintenance of the garrison of Lourdes.

"HENRY, BY THE GRACE OF GOD, ETC.

"To Captain Incamps, commandant of the Château of Lourdes, hail. It being necessary to provide for the safety and preservation of the places of our government, and especially for the said Château of Lourdes, on account of the importance of the same, and in order that it may not fall into difficulties or danger of attack by the enemies of this State and of the rightful party which we support, and by the same means provide for the maintenance of the garrison of the said castle; for this cause, and having full confidence in your sense, capability, loyalty, knightliness, experience and zeal, we have commissioned, deputed and ordered, commission, depute and order by these presents henceforth, and every month, beginning from the first day of December last, that, upon all the inhabitants of the town and jurisdiction of Lourdes of the towns of Saint Pé, Peyrouse and the mountain districts from the said Lourdes on this side as far as Spain by the valley of Lavedan on the other, shall be imposed and raised the sum of one hundred crowns, the same to be equally distributed amongst each of the inhabitants of the said places, as justly as may be, the rich sparing the poor, and by constraining or giving orders to constrain any who refuse or delay the payment of their share and assessment by imprisonment of their persons, and by every other ways and means

From this time onward Incamps guarded well the fortress, so that neither Huguenot nor Catholic disturbed the peace. The last siege it underwent was in the year 1593, when the leaguers of Comminges and Gascony, commanded by the Marquis de Villars, endeavoured to deprive Henri IV. of Lourdes. Villars summoned the captain to surrender: "The King, my master," was the faithful servant's answer, "confided this place to me to keep, but he did not give me authority to give it up to his enemies".

The bravery of the reply caused Villars to reflect ere he besieged "Lourdes the impregnable," and he retired.

With him ended the many sieges which the redoubtable fortress had experienced.

On the 22nd January, 1594, the States of Bigorre assembled at Lourdes, and in the midst of a vast assembly, to the cries of "Long live the King," the mantle of peace descended upon the ancient stronghold of Bigorre.

#### ARCHIVES DES BASSES-PYRÉNÉES, B. 2435, AT PAU.

Extracts from a bill of repairs in Béarnais, containing seventy-two items, being repairs done to the Castle of Lourdes during the governorship of Captain Casenave, deceased. His widow, Agnes de Vignau, claimed a refund of the money expended by her husband on the same:—

*Firstly.* To cleaning the rooms of the Castle from top to bottom, they being filled with filth, to one man for six days to clean the said Castle = three sols tournois per day 18sols

*Item.* Inasmuch as the watch towers and walls of the said Castle were destroyed in part, to rebuilding a watch-tower on the side overlooking Lavedan, etc. 1<sup>11</sup> 10<sup>s</sup>

*Plus.* Bought three large pieces of "corau"<sup>1</sup> wood . . . to roof the said watchtower, each costing 27 sols = 4livres 1<sup>s</sup>

suitable and reasonable, for the private moneys and affairs of the King my lord; the said sum to be received by such a person faithful and capable, to be named by you, and the sum to be employed for the maintenance of the said garrison, according to our will, etc., etc.

"At La Rochelle the last day of January, 1587, "HENRY."

<sup>1</sup> No means of finding out what wood is referred to.

*Item.* Paid for three carters to transport the said wood to the castle, each one "teston" amounting to = 2<sup>l</sup> 8<sup>s</sup>

*Item.* Employed three "cagots" two days to build the said [watchtower] each per day seven *sols* six *dines* [farthings] amounting to = II<sup>l</sup> V<sup>s.t</sup>

*Item.* Made two staircases to mount into the said Watchtower and therefore bought four pieces of wood = II<sup>l</sup>

*Plus.* One "cagot" worked two days to make and place the said stairs per day—seven *sols* six *dines* = 15<sup>s</sup>

*Plus.* Drew six planks of pine out of the gallery roof, inasmuch as none was to be found in the town, and the honorable Council had ordered that neither the Captain nor the soldiers might descend into the town and with these planks he repaired the watch tower above the mill and made the cistern gate and at this worked one "cagot" for two days at seven *sols* six *dines* p.d. = 15<sup>s</sup>

*Plus.* Employed two masons for eight days to raise the Castle wall on the town side and on that of Lavedan and to repair the said wall in diverse places—to each 7<sup>s</sup> 6<sup>d</sup> per diem = 6<sup>livres</sup>

*Item.* Employed ten women to fetch sand [for mixing with the mortar] to each ten "adits" per day = 3<sup>livres</sup>

*Item.* Bought 25 pine planks for partitioning a room wherein to put wheat and flour, to prevent them being mixed, also made a door—for each plank 5<sup>s</sup> = 6<sup>l</sup> 5<sup>s</sup>

*Item.* Bolt for the door, etc. 2<sup>l</sup>

*Plus.* To mending the wicket of the little gate to the town, to mending the latch and putting five pieces of iron to the bolts of the hinges = 11<sup>l</sup> 3<sup>s</sup>

*Item.* To buying one large bolt to put on the lower gate, within, etc. 1<sup>l</sup> 12<sup>s</sup>

*Item.* To repairing rooms, namely the middle room and the room at the head of the gallery looking towards the mill, in each making two bedsteads, a table, two benches and a dresser, to making a door, to repairing the windows and boards and to buying forty fir planks at five *sols* the piece = 10<sup>l</sup>

*Plus.* To employing three cagots for five days to make the

- above repairs and works at seven *sols* six *dines* the **day**  
in all 5<sup>ll</sup> 12<sup>s</sup> 6<sup>d</sup>
- Plus.* To buying nine fir planks for mending the spiral  
staircase, to making a manger in a lower room for feed-  
ing the horses, to each = 2<sup>ll</sup> 5<sup>s</sup>
- Plus.* To buying two triggers for two arquebuses 1<sup>ll</sup> 12<sup>s</sup>.
- Plus.* To buying a sack of lime for mending an angle of the  
Castle towards the mill which was entirely in two, and  
which Master Jerosme ordered and commanded when  
he visited the said castle = 15 *sols*
- Plus.* To employing two men four days to clear out all  
round the said Castle as the said Master Jerosme  
ordered = II<sup>ll</sup>
- Plus.* To ordering the repairs to the cistern so that the water  
might flow and for this two masters [masons] were sent  
by Madame<sup>1</sup> to buying twelve pounds of Olive oil at six  
sols the pound III<sup>ll</sup> 12<sup>sols</sup>
- Item.* To employing three men two days for emptying and  
cleaning the said cistern each five sols the day = 1<sup>ll</sup> 10<sup>s</sup>.
- Plus.* To the two masters sent by Madame the Princess or  
at least the Seigneur de Benac to plaster the said cistern  
with bitumen to five days work 15 sols a day and for the  
expense incurred seven livres VII<sup>ll</sup> 10<sup>s.t</sup>
- Item.* To hiring two men to press the bitumen as if it were  
iron scorïæ, pieces of brick and tallow,<sup>2</sup> paid each five  
sols the day for working three days, etc. 1<sup>ll</sup> 10<sup>s</sup>
- Plus.* To putting two iron hinges on the door of the chapel  
and to making an "armoury" IX<sup>ll</sup>
- Plus.* To repairing the [wind] mill and to making it go—  
paid two masters two livres II<sup>ll</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Catherine of Navarre, the King's sister.

<sup>2</sup> This is obscure, the preparation evidently consisted of all these materials.



*Plus.* To the price of a lock, to placing the padlock bought from Pau, to putting it on the door = 8<sup>sol</sup>

*Plus.* To buying six fir planks for repairing the watchtower which is over the great gate paid five sols the piece = 1<sup>ll</sup> 10<sup>s.t</sup>

*Plus.* To  $\frac{1}{2}$  hundred nails for the said watchtower 3<sup>sols</sup>

*Item.* Because there was a tower which was empty and because within it was a stone spiral staircase by which it was exceeding easy to enter into the said Castle, to breaking up the stairs of the said spiral staircase, and filling with stone the said tower and for so doing to employing three men three days, each gaining per day three sols = 1<sup>ll</sup> 7<sup>sols</sup>

*Item.* At that time when provisions were delivered by Syos to Beuste to letting him ten carts to carry six pipes of wine, wheat, flour and bacon and to transporting them from the said village of Beuste to the said Castle paid each cart three livres = XXX<sup>ll</sup>

*Item.* To sending out to find six musquets or arquebusses from Pau and two dozen pikes and to transporting them to the Castle, paid to two carters = IV<sup>ll</sup>

*Item.* To the trouble and work done herein by the said Captain.

The present sum ninety-eight livres thirteen sols.

In the presence of the Notary and witnesses undersigned Jehan de Brayline, Ramon de Tolosa, Ramon de Prompça, Bertran d'Arnaud the elder, Jehan de Feugarolles of Coarrase, Simon de Sarres of Bordes, Jehan de Peyron, Darrer de Benéjac, soldiers in ordinary to the King . . . attest that Captain Casanave was governor of the Castle of Lourdes . . . and made the above works and repairs . . . that at the entry of the said Captain into the said Castle every thing was totally uninhabitable and ruined by the evil treatment and malversation of Captain Viusac who had left it prior the entry [of Captain Casenave]. . . . At Coarrase the 26 of February one thousand five hundred and eighty, witnesses Noble Jehan de Neys, Laurans Casanave, Jehan deu Capperà, the elder, and others. Jehan deu Capperà the younger, of the said ilk, and I, Fortaner de La Viu, notary of Nay.

**Notes on the City of London Records Dealing with the French Protestant Refugees. Especially with Reference to the Collections Made under Various Briefs.**

By GEORGE B. BEEMAN.

IN response to an application made to the Court of Aldermen of the City of London, leave was courteously granted me to search in the Records Department for information concerning the French refugees. For the purposes of this paper it was only necessary to examine the books and papers after 1675, but I am inclined to think that a careful examination of the earlier records would yield some very interesting facts with reference to the action of the city authorities on questions dealing with the Protestant strangers residing within their jurisdiction.

In the Guildhall Library are deposited the books containing the accounts of moneys received and paid under several of the briefs issued in favour of the French Protestants, and also some accounts dealing with the balance of certain moneys granted by Parliament in 1696. Here also use has been made of various pamphlets, broadsheets and newspapers of the period.

Although several writers have dealt with the collections made under various briefs issued by Charles II., James II. and William III., for the relief of the French Protestant refugees, yet none of them appear to have thoroughly examined the accounts kept of the receipts and disbursements, consequently the correct figures have not, as far as I am aware, yet been given.

Burn writes in a somewhat general manner, and does not commit himself to detail. He, however, appears to have had certain figures before him which Agnew used, obtaining them from the Burn MSS., to which he had access.

Mr. W. A. Shaw more recently contributed a paper upon the subject to the *Royal Historical Review*, which was reprinted with additions in the *Proceedings* of this Society.

In this paper he gives a fresh set of figures, which, he says, represent the amount of the collections, but these, although more correct than those of Burn and Agnew, are also inaccurate.

In the Guildhall Library are deposited the books showing the receipts and payments of moneys for the briefs issued in 1681, 1686, 1687, 1689 and 1694.<sup>1</sup>

It was unfortunate that Agnew should have given credence to a vague tradition of a capital sum belonging to the French refugees, for on this weak foundation he built up a most extraordinary story which he supported by representing the incorrect figures which he had before him as the *unexpended* balance of the collections.

It may be as well to point out at once that the accounts show that all the money received was spent for the benefit of the refugees with the exception of 5s. 10½d. The collections in reality did not produce sufficient funds for the immediate needs of the refugees, and it was quite impossible for any sum to have been put aside as a Capital Fund.

The following abstracts will show, as far as possible, the general features of interest in each set of accounts.

The total amounts received on the various Collections are:—

1681 . . . . .	£14,268 18 0
1686 . . . . .	42,889 8 10½
1687 . . . . .	19,634 19 9½
1689 . . . . .	1,188 13 6½
1694 . . . . .	11,829 5 10½

There are also accounts relating to these:—

#### FURTHER FUNDS.

1696 Parliamentary Fund . . .	£2,488 6 1
1700 Royal Bounty . . . . .	7986 1 7

And Collections under Briefs:—

1699 For Vaudois and French Refugees in Switzer- land . . . . .	£27,606 6 6½
1703 Refugees from Orange . . .	19,548 6 10

<sup>1</sup> According to Agnew the balance of these collections *after* relief given amounted to about £125,000. Shaw says the total amount of collections amounted to £90,178 19s. 5½d. The above-mentioned books show, after analysis, that the total amount collected was £89,811 6s. 1½d.

In the collections the following items may be noticed. The largest single collection under the "King's Letter" 1681 was from St. Dunstan's in the East, £90; the Hamlet of Spitalfields contributed £28.

The private contributors to the 1681 Brief may be thus classified: One archbishop, three bishops, one college (Winchester), two persons of quality (not named), three ladies of title, one baronet, two private gentlemen and one gentleman (not named) and "a gift from the young men and apprentices in Bread Street and Friday Street".

In 1686 to 1689 I find the following contributors: One archbishop, fourteen bishops, seven deans and chapters, one archdeacon and one sub-dean, Honourable Society of Lincoln's Inn, Trinity College, Cambridge, and further "A gift of concealed benefactors".

In 1694 among the contributors are: His Majesty (Gift on the Temporary and Hereditary Excise), the Queen, four dukes, the Lord Keeper, one earl, twenty-three lords, two ladies of title, the Lord Chief Justice, two archbishops, twelve bishops, four "sirs" (? knights or baronets), five deans and chapters, two private gentlemen, two anonymous gifts and one from a French servant.

About this period the coinage was in a most unsatisfactory condition. In 1696 the silver coins were called in to be reminted. It is not surprising, therefore, to find that the "Bad Money" entries in each brief were large. The entries for the Parish Collections usually run thus: Received from the churchwarden of (so and so) (such a sum) of which (so much) bad, leaving (such and such an amount). The following entries which I have taken out are amusing:—

#### BAD MONEY.

Received.		Bad.		Good.
£3 4 3 $\frac{1}{4}$	of which	£1 19 0	leaving	£1 5 3 $\frac{1}{4}$
3 4 2	"	2 2 5	"	1 1 9
13 0 0	"	10 0 0	"	3 0 0
16 14 11	"	10 9 11	"	6 5 0
18 15 0	"	16 5 0	"	2 10 0
20 0 8	"	All.		None.

I also find the following contributions: 430 Dutch stivers, a counterfeit guinea, a Spanish pistole of short weight and eight "white farthings".

Before proceeding further it will be better to point out that the Refugees were not received in England with a unanimous welcome. The reasons are not far to seek. There were at that time two parties struggling for ascendancy in this country, the autocratic or "Court" Party, and the Protestant or "Country Interest". It was feared by the "Court" Party that the influx of the Refugees would strengthen the "Country" Interest. It may here be noted that on some points Charles the Second had apparently more sympathy with the latter than the former party. In other words his feelings perhaps inclined him to favour the "Country Interest," while his fears threw him into the hands of the autocratic party. This may explain his support to the Refugees, who were bitterly opposed by the "Court" Party.

The City of London was at this time one of the great strongholds of the so-called "Country Interest," but in 1681 the "Court Interest" succeeded in obtaining the election of Sir John Moore, a renegade, as Lord Mayor, who, when the time came for the election of sheriffs, tried to nominate two adherents of the Court Party to this office. The Common Hall, however, elected Mr. Thos. Papillon and Mr. John Dubois (both descendants of early Refugees). The contest was carried into the courts and was probably one of the reasons for the issue of the "Quo Warranto," and the loss of the City's Charter.

In the course of the proceedings Mr. Papillon had an interview with the then Lord Mayor and some of his friends, one of whom, Sir James Smith, said, referring to Messrs. Papillon and Dubois: "These are both French or Walloon Protestants, and there is come over a great many more of late, and in a little time, they will be the same as these are". To which my Lord Mayor replied: "I hope the King will take a course to send them back again to their own country". This jealousy proceeding from political antagonism must be kept in mind, as it explains many points in connection with their treatment.

For several years before 1681 the English news-sheets had been giving accounts of the persecutions in France, and had chronicled the occasional arrival of refugees. The English Ambassador in Paris had pressed upon the Government the advisability of encouraging the Protestants, who were being driven out of France, to settle in this country. Apparently the Ministers were to some extent convinced by his argu-

ments, for in 1676 a bill was introduced into Parliament for the naturalisation of French Protestants residing in England. This bill, however, was rejected, probably owing to the strong opposition by the City members acting under instructions from the Corporation. The rejection of this bill was a great disappointment to Sir Henry Savill, our Ambassador in Paris, who had completed arrangements whereby, had the bill passed, 30,000 persons would have come over; all of whom, he said, would have been able to maintain themselves.

On 21st July, 1681, probably in response to a hint from high quarters, the ministers and elders of the French churches presented a petition for assistance to the King.

In the Tanner MSS. 92, fol. 180, is an undated paper endorsed

#### FRENCH PROTESTANTS, SAVOY MEMORIAL.

##### THEIR DEMAND OF PRIVILEGES.

This, from internal evidence, may well be the rough draft of this petition.

- 1<sup>ment</sup>, la denisation franche et gratuite.
- 2<sup>ment</sup>, les privileges necessaires pour exercer les arts et métiers librement et sans obstacle, et pour negotier sans payer plus de droits que les Anglois.
- 3<sup>ment</sup>, Injonction aux Directeurs et aux Recteurs des Escoles et des Universitez de recevoir des enfans aux mêmes Exemptions et prerogatives, que les naturels des Royaumes.
- 4<sup>ment</sup>, Ordre et Recommandation aux Capitaines des Yachts et autres bâtimens maritimes de recevoir, de nourrir et de passer francs tous les Protestans, qui se presenteront, et promesse de recompense aux dits Capitaines qui s'acquitteront de cet ordre avec affection et avec succez.
- 5<sup>ment</sup>, Ordre aux Gouverneurs, Commandants, et autres officiers des places maritimes, de recevoir avec humanité particuliere les protestants qui se retireront en Angleterre, et Commandemens de fournir aux pauvres des embarquements ou autres voitures, pour les transporter aux lieux où ils ont dessein d'aller.
- 6<sup>ment</sup>, Commandement aux officiers de Douanes de laisser passer francs entierement les Protestans qui viennent s'establir dans ce Royaume avec les hardes et meubles

de grand ou de petit prix, les Instruments de leurs Arts et metiers, et generalement tout ce qui leur appartient, sauf la Marchandise, sans rien Exiger d'eux ni de force ni par prieres afin qu'ils soyent traittez si favorablement qu'il paroisse que c'est par l'ordre exprès de sa Majesté.

7<sup>ment</sup>, Recommendation aux Seigneurs Evêques de faire un fond par voye de Collecte ou autrement pour les pauvres familles qui n'auront rien pû sauver de leurs biens.

8<sup>ment</sup>, Qu'il plaise à Sa Majesté nommer un des Seigneurs du Conseil pour avoir le soin et l'inspection particuliere sur les protestans refugiez pour ouïr leurs plaintes, recevoir leurs requêtes, et les porter à sa Majesté.

Concerning this petition, Secretary Jenkins wrote to Sir Henry Savill, English Ambassador in Paris, under date 28th July, 1681 (Camden Socy., Savill Correspondence, No. 71):—

"The Memorial his Majesty was pleased to refer to a Committee (of the Privy Council) and of eight or nine points which the French demanded as an help and an ease towards their transport and their settlement, there was nothing but what my Lords assented to as far as the things were practicable here."

Accordingly the following order appeared in the *London Gazette*, No. 1,650, September 8-12, 1681:—

Whitehall, Sept. 7th.

This day was published an Order of His Majesty in Council, dated the 28th of the last month (that is July) at Hampton Court; Wherein His Majesty is pleased to declare, That He holds Himself obliged in Honour and Conscience, to Comfort and Support all such afflicted Protestants, who by reason of the Rigours and Severities which are us'd towards them upon the account of their Religion, shall be forced to quit their Native Countrey, and shall desire to shelter themselves under His Majesties Royal Protection, for the preservation and free exercise of their Religion; And in order hereunto, His Majesty was pleased further to Declare, That he will Grant unto every such distressed Protestant, who shall come hither for refuge, and reside here, His Letters of Denization under the Great Seal, without any charge whatsoever; and likewise such further priviledges and immunities as are consistent with the Laws, for the Liberty and free exercise of their Trades and Handicrafts; And that His



Majesty will likewise recommend it to His Parliament at their next Meeting, to pass an Act for the General Naturalization of all such Protestants as shall come over as aforesaid; And for the further enlarging their Liberties and Franchises granted to them by His Majesty, as reasonably may be necessary for them. And for their encouragement, His Majesty is likewise pleased to Grant unto them, That they shall pay no greater Duties in any case, than His Majesties own Natural born Subjects; and that they shall have all the Privileges and Immunities that generally His Majesties Native Subjects have, for the Introduction of their Children into Schools and Colledges. And His Majesty was likewise pleased to Order, That all His Majesties Officers, both Civil and Military, do give a kind Reception to all such Protestants as shall arrive within any of His Majesties Ports in this Kingdom, and furnish them with free Passports, and give them all assistance and furtherance in their Journeys to the places to which they shall desire to go. And the Right Honourable the Lords Commissioners of His Majesties Treasury are to give orders to the Commissioners of His Majesties Customs, to suffer the said Protestants to pass free with their Goods and Householdstuff whether of a greater or a smaller value, together with their Tools and Instruments belonging to their Crafts, or Trades, and generally all what belongs to them, that may be Imported according to the Laws now in force, without exacting anything from them. And for the further Relief and Encouragement of the said necessitous Protestants, His Majesty hath been pleased to give Order for a general Brief through His Kingdom of England, Dominion of Wales, and Town of Berwick for Collecting the Charity of all well-disposed persons, for the relief of the said Protestants, who may stand in need thereof. And to the end, that when any such come over, being Strangers, they may know where to Address themselves to fitting persons, to lay their Requests before His Majesty, His Majesty was Graciously pleased to appoint the most Reverend Father in God, His Grace the Lord Archbishop of Canterbury, and the Right Reverend Father in God, the Lord Bishop of London, or either of them to receive all the said Requests and Petitions, and to present the same to His Majesty to the end such Order may be given therein as shall be necessary.

The King, however, did not wait for the result of the deliberations of the Privy Council or for the issue of the

declaration of encouragement, but on the 22nd July, that is the day following the presentation of the Petition for Aid, he wrote to the Lord Mayor and the Bishop of London ordering an immediate collection in the London churches. In the Books of Account, therefore, the earliest collections are said to be made under the "King's Letter".

As the Brief promised in the Order of Council (generally known as the King's declaration of encouragement) was not issued, it would appear as though the French Churches of London and Westminster presented another Memorial to the King. A copy is preserved in the Rawl. MSS. C984, fol. 216, but is without date. As, however, it refers to the Edict of Nantes but not to the Revocation, and also refers to the Order in Council, it must have been presented at some date between 28th July and the beginning of September.

TO THE KING'S MOST EXCELLENT MAJESTY.

THE HUMBLE PETITION OF THE MINISTERS AND OTHERS  
OFFICERS OF THE FRENCH CHURCH OF THE SAVOY.

SHEWETH

That notwithstanding the Lawes and Edicts made long since by the French Kings for the Liberties of the protestants congregations in France but especially by that Edict of Nantes. Yet so it is That of late most of the said Congregations and most of the Churches allowed by that & other Edicts have been suppressed and most of the Pastors and Ministers thereof silenced, and others Imprisoned and put to death, and many of them banished and forced to fly their Countrey, Leaving their Wives (*sic*) Children and Estates behind them Whereof a great Number have for Security fled with some of their flocks into England where your Petitioners in Charity have Relieved them to their utmost power.

Now forasmuch as your Sacred Majesty was graciously pleased at the beginning of that Unheard off proceedings by order of your Majesty in Councell [to] Invite into your Kingdome the said protestants, which for protection are Come over and your Petitioners not being able to give them further reliefe in their Affliction,

May it please your most Excellent Majesty to be so gracious and charitable to those poor distressed People to

grant your Majesties briefes directed to the several Counties, Citties, Townes and Burroughs of England for the gathering of the Charity and benevolence of your Majesties Subjects to be only Applied for the reliefe of the Ministers so forced to fly and others of their Flocks with them, Into this your Majesties Kingdome.

And your Petitioners as in duty bound shall pray for your Sacred Majesties long and happy life.

At length on 10th September, 1681, the first Brief was signed. In the meantime collections had been made in London on the King's Letter, and the following announcement appears in the *Impartial Protestant Mercury*, No. 30, August 2-5, 1681 :—

“Pursuant to His Majesty's letter and my Lord Mayor's order there has been in several Parishes collections made of money for the Poor Distressed Protestants fled over from France and there has been very liberal contributions and 'tis said already £2,000 or upwards paid into the Chamber of London for that good work”.

The total amount collected on the King's letter was £3,319 1s. 5d. This sum was afterwards carried into the account of Moneys received upon the Brief.

Incidentally I may point out that this amount having been thus dealt with, was chiefly responsible for Agnew's statement founded on the Burn MSS., that the 1681 Brief realised £17,900 while the correct amount was about £14,300.

I will now carry on the relation of events by extracts from the news-sheets :—

*Impartial Protestant Mercury*, No. 31. August 5-9, 1681.

Three hundred and twenty and two of those distressed poor Protestants who fled from Popish Cruelty in France have repaired to the French Reformed Church here, and have enter'd their names with the several places of their late residence in that Kingdom and given in Testimonials of their firm adherence to the Protestant Religion, upon which the Ministers and some of the Elders being joyned in a Committee will repair to the Bishop of London in order to settle some Relief for these at present, out of the Charitable Collection already come in, and so from time to time, as they shall severally come over if in their Wisdome they shall judge it necessary.

*Impartial Protestant Mercury*, No. 32. August 9-12, 1681.

His Majesty being willing to give all possible encouragement to those poor distressed Protestants who dayly fly from France has declared, that every one of them that desires it shall be made a Free Denizen Gratis.

*Impartial Protestant Mercury*, No. 41. September 9-13, 1681.

Thursday last landed on Tower Wharf about 300 French distrest Protestants with their wives and children. The officers of the French Church took immediate care to dispose of them and to afford them some Charitable subsistence.

*Impartial Protestant Mercury*, No. 49. October 7-11, 1681.

Yesterday the Lord Mayor Elect (Sir John Moor) went to the Lord Chancellor according to the Antient Custom to be confirmed, where Mr. Recorder made a speech . . . which was answered by his Lordship very obligingly . . . who recommended to Sir John to follow in the footsteps of Sir Patience Ward in relieving and encouraging the Distressed Protestants from France, adding withal That His Majesty was greatly sensible of their sufferings and would, as much as in him lay, further that good work.

*London Gazette*, October 17-20, 1681.

Whitehall, 19th October.

This day the Minister and Churchwardens of the French Congregation of the Savoy, Attended his Majesty, to return his Majesty their most Humble Thanks for his most Gracious Declaration in favour of the French Protestants, and for the Royal Goodness and Protection which his Majesty has been pleased in so great a measure to afford them. And at the same time the Minister and others of the French Congregation in London likewise waited on his Majesty on the same occasion. His Majesty received them very Graciously, and assured them they should never want his Royal Favour and Protection.

*London Gazette*, December 12-15, 1681.

Whitehall, December 14th.

His Majesty having appointed the Lord Mayor and Aldermen of London and the justices of the Peace for the

County of Middlesex to attend him this day in Council was pleased Earnestly to recommend to them the making some Temporary Provision to accomodate the French Protestants, who are lately fled hither for their Religion, with Lodgings in Convenient spare places in and about the City, until they be dispersed into other parts of the Kingdom, much of what has been so charitably collected in the City for their Relief, being already spent in hiring Lodgings for them.

*Domestick Intelligence, January 16-19, 1681-2.*

Such great care has been taken by the Superiors of the French Church for the settlement of the Poor Protestants that fled the Popish persecution that for the most part they are placed in divers parts of the City and Suburbs, in the exercise of such handicrafts and other employments as they are capable of performing and are dayly encouraged by such charitable persons as come to admire their dexterity and Industry.

*Domestick Intelligence, January 23-26, 1681-2.*

The Elders of the French Church have taken into their consideration the deplorable condition of such as are obliged to fly the Persecution having furnished a great number as are known to be zealous Protestants with such necessaries as their Handicrafts require and taken houses for them in several places in and about the City.

*Domestick Intelligence, March 13-16, 1681-2.*

We hear that several of the late come French Protestants will be enfranchised or made free of the City of London. His Majesty resolving to give them all the encouragement imaginable for the better improvement of manufacture.<sup>1</sup>

I have mentioned already that the arrival of the refugees was not everywhere greeted with enthusiasm.

In 1721 the Commissioners of the Royal Bounty, in the Preface to the Accounts, express their views, which probably might just as correctly have been written forty years before. They say : " Popery having dragooned and cruelly persecuted the Protestants in France, cannot see (without Rage and

<sup>1</sup> We find that two refugees, Paul Priaulx and Daniel Brulon, received the freedom of the city in 1682. There may have been more, as the complete lists were destroyed by fire (Repertories, 87 ff836 and 1766).

Envy) the Happiness of those who escaped their Fury, and fled into this Country. . . . Therefore they use all imaginable endeavours to deprive them of that Beneficence, and render them odious to the generous nation, who received them with so much Charity and Kindness. But the Refugees hope that God who is the Protector of those who suffer for Righteousness Sake, will not permit those wicked Projects to succeed (Wake MSS. 27, Art. 128).

The following extracts will show the malignity of the attacks made upon the refugees :—

*London Gazette*, October 17-20, 1681-2.

Whitehall, October 19th.

His Majesty was pleased this day in Council, to order that the following Advertisement be forthwith Printed and Published.

Whereas several scandalous Reports are daily spread abroad that a great part of those who call themselves Protestants, and are lately come from France, for Protection into this Kingdom, are Papists, whereby many well-disposed People are discouraged from Contributing to the Relief of those poor Protestants, who have forsaken their Livelyhoods and Countrey to preserve a good Conscience. These are to give Notice, that all Care imaginable is taken by the Ministers of the French Congregation both at the Savoy and in London, that according to his Majesties Gracious Declaration, made in Council, the 28th July 1681, None be admitted into either of their Congregation, or receive any benefit of the said Collections, but such as bring very good and authentick Testimonials, of their being of the Protestant Religion, and of their receiving of the Holy Sacrament. And if any Person can detect any of those, who pretend to be fled hither for Religion, to be really Papists, It is desired that he gives Information thereof to the Lord Bishop of London or to the Ministers of the said French Congregations.

*London Gazette*, January 5-9, 1681-2.

Whereas it is reported to the prejudice of the poor persecuted French Protestants, that Mr. Smythies of Cripplegate going to visit them, found them at Mass. He doth hereby certifie, that there never was the least occasion for such a Report, but that he had several times found them at Prayers with great Devotion, and Reading the Scriptures with great

Reverence, and doth therefore believe that they are not true Protestants, but very Pious Christians.

December 9th, 1681

(Signed) WILL SMYTHIES

The above written was certified and signed by J. Smythies before me, this 29th. day of December 1681.

(Signed) JOHN MOORE,  
Mayor.

EXTRACT FROM "THE DEPLORABLE STATE AND CONDITION OF THE POOR FRENCH PROTESTANTS COMMISSERATED ETC., ETC.

PRINTED FOR RICHARD JANEWAY, 1681.

There are many who raise a groundless fear and jealousy amongst us lest these distressed French Hugonets should come over with a design of betraying this Nation. But these surmises will seem very ridiculous if we weigh all the circumstances concerning them. At first the manner of their arrival in such small Vessels as none but men in greatest extremity would hazard themselves in, Secondly what sort of persons they be that come over, whether they be not of all Sorts as well women and children as Men? And whether they are not mostly Men of professions, as Fishermen, Clothiers, Weavers and such from whom we have more reason to expect advantage from their Trades than danger from their arms? Thirdly whether there are not as many arrived in Holland and other Protestant countries as here, and Fourthly whether such a Conspiracy could possibly be concealed amongst so many thousands who are arrived in all parts. Fifthly and lastly whether it stands not to reason that the same Popish Fury which banisht them from France should not as well, to conceal their own Cruelties and to have them discredited, likewise maliciously and out of design raise all these Calumnies and false reports against them.

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PRINTED PREFACE TO ACCOUNT OF DISTRIBUTION OF BOUNTY.<sup>1</sup>

The Commissioners have thought fit to cause their accounts to be printed and if they cannot silence thereby to

<sup>1</sup> Wake MSS. 27, Art. 128. Dec. 25, 1721.

cruel enemies of the French Refugees, who spread so many calumnies and false reports against them they hope at least that all good and impartial men will find therein an undeniable proof of their innocence and probity.

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EXTRACT FROM "THE PRESENT STATE OF THE PROTESTANTS IN FRANCE IN THREE LETTERS"—1681.

Whilst their enemies will not suffer them to live in France, they endeavour to prevent their subsisting anywhere also. Amongst some they are represented as enemies to the Religion established, however, they profess the same Faith, and desire to be esteemed as Brethren. Amongst others they are made to appear a mixed multitude, part Protestant, part Papist, whereas it is impossible for any number of Papists, or indeed almost any to thrust themselves in amongst them undiscovered; as it would be for a Black amongst Whites. Their Ministers are such as have had their education amongst them, well-known and approved, before admitted to that Office, strictly observed and under a careful discipline after admission their people well acquainted and observed amongst themselves, as is usual for such as are under a persecution, or the jealous eye of their superiors. Besides, greater care cannot be taken, than is by the French Churches, to whom the recommendation of all that come over is remitted, to see that their Attestations and Testimonials are true & substantial and I hope the Printed Advertisement has already given satisfaction in this point.

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We have seen how liberally the English people, notwithstanding the malicious lies spread abroad, subscribed to the needs of the refugees. It will be interesting to see how the money was distributed.

The Commissioners appointed for this purpose in the 1681 Brief were: The Archbishop of Canterbury, the Bishop of London and the Lord Mayor for the time being.

The following is the analysis of the payments made under this brief:—



1681.

## Ministers, Elders and Deacons of Threadneedle

Ministers, Elders and Deacons of Free Churches			
Street Church	.	.	£5,796 0 0
Do. of Savoy Church	.	.	4,292 7 0
Pest House	.	.	793 18 4
Ware (for Children at)	.	.	350 0 0
Canterbury	.	.	280 0 0
Rye	.	.	213 0 0
Wandsworth	.	.	20 0 0
Ipswich	.	.	1,297 12 8
Boughton Malherbe	.	.	113 0 0
Whitby (Passage of Refugees to)	.	.	5 0 0
Various Ministers	.	.	70 0 0
Papillon a/c	{	Dover . . . . . £5 10 0	
	{	Folkestone . . . . . 5 0 0	
			<hr/>
			10 10 0
Emigration	.	.	218 0 0
Private Persons	.	.	228 0 0
Delacide (probably for Thorpe le Soken)	.	.	50 0 0
Meschin	.	.	53 0 0
Mossom Salary	.	.	£283 0 0
Do. for distribution	.	.	165 10 0
			<hr/>
			448 10 0
Various Expenses	.	.	30 0 0
			<hr/>
			£14,268 18 0

By the so-called "1685" Brief, which in reality was dated 5th March, 1685-6, the following Commissioners were appointed:—

The Archbishop of Canterbury, The Lord Chancellor, The President of the Council, Lord Privy Seal, Dukes of Ormond and Beaufort, The Lord Chamberlain, Earls of Huntingdon, Bridgwater, Craven, Berkley, Nottingham, Plymouth, Middleton, Viscount Fauconberge, The Bishops of London, Durham, Winchester, Ely, Gloucester and Peterborough, Lords Preston, Dartmouth, Godolphin, The Chancellor of the Exchequer, Lords Chief Justice Herbert and Jones, Lord Chief Baron Montagu, Sir Job Charleton, Sir Francis Wythens, Sir Robert Wright, The Attorney General and Solicitor General, The Lord Mayor of London, Sir Wm. Turner, Sir Wm. Pritchard, Sir Robt. Geffery, Sir Jno. Holt, Sir Wm. Gostling, Sir Peter Vandeput, Sir

Jno. Bulkworth, Sir Jno. Mathews, Alderman Chas. Duncombe, John Geffreys, Esq., Deans of St. Pauls, Canterbury, Norwich, Windsor, Worcester, and St. Asaph, Doctors Jno. Horden, Geffreys, Scott and Cave, Sir Thos. Exton, Doctors Raines and Edisbury, Saml. Pepys, Wm. Bridgeman and William Blathwaite, Esquires, any five of whom should form a quorum.

The accounts are far less explicit; nearly the whole of the money being handed over to the Committee appointed by the French Churches.

This Brief only remained in force for one year, but was extended by an Order in Council which was published in the

*London Gazette*, April 18-21, 1687.

At the Court at Whitehall, 15 Apl. 1687.

Present

The King's most excellent Majesty in Council.

His Majesty being informed, That in several Parishes of this Kingdom no Collections have been hitherto made for the Relief of the necessitous French Protestants, in pursuance of His Majesty's Letters Patents, dated 5th March, 1685 (1686) Is Graciously pleased hereby to Order, That the Archbishops, Bishops and all others exercising Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction, Do take Care that the Rectors, Vicars and Curates of such Parishes wherein no Collections have been made, as aforesaid, do exhort their Parishioners to give their Charitable Contributions towards the Relief of the said Necessitous French Protestants; And that the same be Collected and Paid in, according to the direction of the said Letters Patents; And the Commissioners appointed by the said Letters Patents are hereby Authorized and Impowered to dispose of such Collections in like manner as they have formerly done.

WILLIAM BLATHWAYTE.

1686.

Treasurer of Fch. Committee . . .	£40,313	19	1
Sir John Charden and others . . .	1,000	0	0
Bishop of Ely . . .	500	0	0
Dr. Tillotson for Canterbury . . .	550	0	0
Four French Ministers and Families . . .	80	0	0
Mossom for distribution . . .	45	0	0
Clerks of Chamber . . .	£50	0	0
Porter, Sergeants Inn Hall, Fleet Street . . .	10	0	0
Mossom, Salary . . .	128	0	0
„ Expenses . . .	10	14	10
		198	14 10
		£42,687	13 11
Balance to next Brief . . .	201	14	11½
		£42,889	8 10½

We are, however, enabled to glean some little further information by the following short statement which was first circulated with a letter urging further contributions, and with additions again issued with the 1687-8 Brief.

AN ACCOUNT OF THE DISPOSAL OF THE MONEY COLLECTED UPON THE LATE BRIEF FOR THE FRENCH PROTESTANTS, TOGETHER WITH THE PRESENT STATE OF THOSE THAT ARE TO BE RELIEVED BY THE CHARITY OF THIS.

The number of those French Protestants who have been Relieved by the late charity, does amount to about Fifteen thousand Five hundred Persons, *viz.*, Thirteen thousand Five hundred in and about London, and Two thousand at the several Sea-port Towns where they landed.

Of these, there are One hundred and Forty Families of Persons of Quality, One hundred forty three Ministers with their families.

One hundred forty four families of Lawyers, Physicians, Merchants and Citizens.

The rest are Artificers, Husbandmen etc.

The Persons of Quality and their families have been hitherto constantly supplied by weekly Allowances, their young Children have been put Apprentices to the best

Trades, and for those of them that have been bred Soldiers, they have been equipped and disposed of, some of them into His Majesties Troops, to the number of One hundred and fifty, or thereabouts, and others into Germany or the Northern Parts.

The Ministers likewise with their families, have been maintained by constant pensions, and their Children put out, some to be Apprentices, and others into the Service of Persons of Quality.

A weekly allowance has likewise been given to all Sick Persons, and to such, who, by their Age, were incapable of Work, according to their respective Necessities.

And for the common sort of people, Tradesmen, Artificers, Husbandmen, and others of such Condition, the most part of them have been settled in the Way or Art they were bred to, by providing them with Instruments or Tools for their several Occasions, together with other Necessaries. Some likewise have been put in the way for the West Indies, to the number of Six hundred. And others have been put into Service where they could get it.

Besides all this, Fifteen French Churches (or convenient Places for the Worship of God) have been erected by the means of this Collection, namely. Three in London, and Twelve in the several Counties, over and above those that were erected before.

And though it cannot easily be conceived how Forty thousand Pounds (which is the amount of the collection paid into the Chamber of London) should so well and for so long a time, afford support and Relief to a number of near Sixteen thousand People, all Strangers and (who come hither) most of them perfectly naked and destitute. Yet so it is, that through the prudent Conduct of the Commissioners, whom his Majesty did intrust with this charity, and the Care and Management of those who acted under them, the Relief hath been everywhere sufficient and as well suited as might be, to the Necessities, and to the qualities of the distressed People. Some Families having had a Hundred Pounds each, so that none have been reduced to publick Begging. And those chiefly who went over to the *West Indies* had very large and comfortable Assistance and Relief.

This Extract was taken out of the Books of Accounts, examined and Audited, from the Vouchers by Sir William Turner, Sir William Gostlyn, and Sir Peter Vandeputt, who were deputed thereto by the Commissioners for the charity.

The aforesaid Account was drawn out about *Christmas* last, when Applications were made during the present Brief, since which time about Two thousand Pounds more have been paid into the Chamber of London, and disposed of as the Brief directed, being all that is expected upon that Brief.

Then besides those that have been hitherto maintained by the Charity and cannot subsist without further Contribution, there are a very considerable number of new Objects lately come over and more are daily coming over, so that the present State of both sorts, that are to be provided for by the Charity of this new Brief, is as follows:—

There are now upon the list that are to be supplied by Weekly Allowances, Seven hundred and Seventeen Families in *London*, and in the Country, *viz.*, One hundred and Seventeen Families of Persons of Quality, One hundred and Seventeen Ministers and their families, One hundred and eighty seven families of Lawyers, Physicians, Merchants and Citizens, and Two hundred and Ninety families of persons of lower Condition which are from their Age and Infirmities, or other Incapacities, hindered from getting their Livelihood.

Besides this constant Charge, it is found there are daily Contingencies of necessity to be supplied which must needs amount to a considerable Sum in so large a Body as about Twenty thousand Persons, which is the present Number of these *French Protestants* come over.

Last of all, Those that do daily come over are to be taken care of, both at the Ports for their present, and here for their future Settlement.

By order of the Lord Commissioners for this Charity,  
London, March the 15th, 1687<sup>8</sup>.

CHARLES MOSSOM.

The next Brief was to all intents and purposes another extension of the previous one. It was dated 31st January, 1687-8.

The Commissioners were, however, altered by the exclusion of a few names, and the addition of many new ones. It will be noticed that the Bishop of London was not reappointed. They were: Archbishop of Canterbury, Lord High Chancellor, Lord President of the Council, Lord Privy Seal, Dukes of Ormond and Beaufort, Lord Chamberlain, Earls of Huntington, Peterborough, Bridgwater, Craven, Berkley, Nottingham, Middleton, Viscount Fauconberge, Bishops of Durham, Winchester, Ely, Gloucester, Rochester, Peter-

borough, The Lords Preston, Dartmouth, Godolphin, The Chancellor of the Exchequer, Lord Chief Justices Wright and Herbert, The Lord Chief Baron Atkyns, Sir Job Charleton, The Attorney General, The Solicitor General, The Lord Mayor, Sir Wm. Turner, Sir Wm. Prichard, Sir Robt. Geoffray, Sir John Holt, Sir Wm. Gostling, Sir Peter Vandeput, Sir John Matthews, Sir John Tate, Sir Jonathan Raymond, Sir Thos. Kensey, Sir Wm. Ashurst, Sir John Bauden, Sir John Isles, Sir Bartholomew Shore, Sir Basil Firebrace, Sir John Parsons and Sir Thos. Fitch; John Jeffreys and Chas. Duncombe, Esqrs. Aldermen Kiffin and St. Amand, The Deans of St. Paul's, Canterbury, Norwich, Peterborough, Windsor, Worcester and St. Asaph. Doctors Jeffreys, Tenison, Sherlock, Scott, Dove, Cave and Horden. Sir Thos. Exton, Doctors Raines and Edisbury, Samuel Pepys, Wm. Bridgman and Wm. Blaithwayte Esquires and Mr. Thos. Firmin. They were thus seventy-four in number of whom any five should form a quorum.

The accounts are similarly bald to those of 1685, and unfortunately I have not found any explanatory statement.

It is not easy to understand why the Savoy Church should have received such large direct payments, when it undoubtedly shared in the distributions made by the French Committee. It must be remembered, however, that that Church conforming to the English Church, was more in favour with the authorities than the older and larger Church of Threadneedle Street.

The payments were as follows:—

1688.

Treasurer French Committee	£14,950	0	0
Savoy Church	5,089	10	0
Canterbury	400	0	0
Ipswich	10	0	0
Dover	50	0	0
Norwich	20	0	0
Firmin for distribution	260	0	0
Printer	6	0	0
Clerks of Chamber	40	0	0
Expenses { Porter Sergeants Inn Hall	5	0	0
Middleton	10	0	0
Brocas (a Minister)	14	10	0
	£20,855	0	0
Balance to next Brief	170	8	4
	<u>£21,025</u>	<u>8</u>	<u>4</u>

This Brief, like the previous one, was to continue in force for one year and no longer. It expired on the 31st January 1689, and owing to the disturbed state of the country it was without doubt useless to extend it, but the Commissioners issued a notice which appeared in the

*London Gazette*, March 11-14, 1689.

Whereas several Sums of Money Collected for the Briefs for the Necessitous French Protestants upon the Letters Patent granted on their behalf are yet remaining in the hands of Divers Persons; The Commissioners appointed for the distribution of the said Moneys do desire all persons forthwith to return the said Moneys into the Chamber of London.

On 31st October, 1689, the King, William III., sent letters to the Lord Mayor and the Bishop of London ordering collections to be made in the London churches for the French refugees in Switzerland. On these letters about £1,180 was collected; the payments, however, it is impossible to separate from those made out of the money received upon the previous Brief. They are, therefore, included in the figures already given.

As it was not possible to make a general collection, William and Mary are stated (see *Life of Thos. Firmin*) to have made a grant out of the Privy Purse of £1,000 per month for thirty-nine months.

The accounts for this bounty are given in a footnote to Mr. Shaw's paper. They may be summarised thus:—

RECEIPTS—NOVEMBER, 1689, TO JULY, 1693.

Cash . . . . .	£7,800	0
Exchequer Tallies . . . . .	£31,200	0 0
Less Loss on Sale . . . . .	1,930	0 0
	<hr/>	29,270 0
Other Sources . . . . .	6,322	6
	<hr/>	<hr/>
	£43,392	6

The annual disbursements for this period were:—

Ministers and families, numbering	345	.	£2,757	0	0
Persons of Quality	268	.	2,120	16	0
People of Middle Condition	465	.	2,597	8	6
„ Meaner Sort	1,000	.	5,182	0	0
Orphans, etc.	105	.	430	0	0
Pest House		.	420	0	0
Country Churches, poor, numbering	200	.	100	0	0
Doctors and Medicines		.	236	0	0
Schools		.	36	0	0
Miscellaneous Expenses		.	500	0	0

£14,379 4 6

This money may have been paid out of the Secret Service Fund, as in a MS. volume dealing with the “King’s Revenue” there is the following entry under the heading—

“An Account of the Receipts and Payments of their Majesties Revenue from Xmas 1688 to Michaelmas 1689” :—

“Issued to :—	}	£78,965 7 0.”
<p>“Mr. Jephson for Secret Service, <i>viz.</i>, The Queen Consort, Duke Schonberg, Spanish Ambassador, Mr. Walker, Purchasing a house at Kensington, Irish services by order of the Committee for Irish Affairs.</p> <p>“FRENCH and IRISH PROTESTANTS etc.</p>		

The Commissioners appointed to administer this fund were (*Life of Thos. Papillon*) : The Bishops of London and Salisbury, Mr. Hampden, Sir John Mordent, and Mr. Thos. Papillon, but (*Life of Thos. Firmin*) apparently the distribution was mainly in the hands of Mr. Firmin.

It would almost seem as if these payments may have been the origin of what was afterwards called the “Royal Bounty Fund”.

A Brief for a new collection was issued, dated 16th March, 1694.

The Commissioners were : The Archbishop of Canterbury, Lord Keeper of Great Seal, Bishop of London and Two Lords Chief Justice.

The sum collected was comparatively small and the accounts give us very meagre information.



## 1694.

Treasurer French Committee	.	.	.	£11,347	0	0
Canterbury	.	.	.	125	0	0
Ipswich	.	.	.	40	0	0
Clavell	} Ministers {	.	.	12	10	0
Brocas		.	.	10	0	0
Philip Tully, Secretary to Committee, Salary				140	0	0
do. For distribution				20	0	0
Expenses	{	Middleton	.	45	0	0
		Clerks of Chamber	.	50	0	0
		Printer	.	39	10	0
				£11,829	0	0
Balance not paid and still due !!	.	.	.		5	10½

This is the last collection, exclusively for the French Protestants, for which any accounts exist at the Guildhall. There are, however, some accounts (dated 1698) of payments made out of a fund voted by Parliament in 1696. Mr. Shaw states that Parliament made provision for a payment of £15,000 per annum for five years, but the payments, if made, were apparently somewhat irregular.<sup>1</sup> From the Lambeth MSS., 1122, Vol. 1, No. 1, we learn that the Commons passed a bill on 27th April, 1696, placing certain duties on low wines on the security of which a sum of £515,000 should be borrowed, of which £15,000 was for the relief of the French Protestants. In the next session, it is stated, a similar amount was voted.

It is possible, however, that the grant made in 1696 and 1697 did not become an annual charge until 1700.

The endorsement on the accounts reads thus :—

Account of Distribution and Assistance made to The Poor French Protestantes Refugees, out of the Money proceeding from the Parliamentary Fund granted for their Relief for the year 1696.

The accounts are for payments amounting to £2,488 6s. 1d.

It appears, from a statement prefixed to the accounts, that on 6th October, 1696, a warrant was issued for the delivery of £4,000 in tallies on the Hereditary and Tem-

<sup>1</sup> Probably the irregularity in these payments was owing to the deficiency in the returns from the new taxes. The Hereditary and Temporary Excise produced in 1696 £510,085, in 1697 £448,585, in 1698 £427,603, and in 1699 only £411,647.

porary Excise. These tallies could then only be sold at an excessive loss, so the members of the Church in Threadneedle Street advanced £2,085 10s. 9d. wanted for immediate use on the security of the tallies. On the 19th May, 1698, having sold the tallies at par, they handed over to the Commissioners the balance of the money, namely, £2,458 10s. 1d.

The Treasurer was, therefore, out of pocket £29 16s. 0d., which he was probably paid out of the next grant.

The difference between the amount received by the Committee and the amount granted is probably interest. If so the Government was paying about 10 per cent.

The statement of account of the first portion is wanting.

The accounts are very full, supplying the name of all the recipients under the headings of "Persons of Quality" and "People of Middle Condition". With regard to the other payments there were forty-three supplementary statements giving the names of all the "People of the meaner sort" who received assistance, and also of the money granted to various country churches. Unfortunately one of these statements is now missing. I believe these are the earliest lists in existence giving the names of the refugees in receipt of charity.

The payments are under the following headings:—

#### PARLIAMENTARY FUND, 1696.

Persons of Quality . . . . .	£308 14 0
People of Middle Condition . . . . .	693 19 3
Persons for urgent occasions . . . . .	319 2 4
People of the meaner sort	
At Spitalfields per Paul La Coze . . . . .	157 0 0
do. Thos. Bureau . . . . .	138 0 0
At Sohofields per Mr. Hayer . . . . .	89 6 6
do. John Sabatier . . . . .	65 2 1
do. other sources . . . . .	154 11 8
Orphan Children & Weak minded persons . . . . .	174 18 10
Pest House, poor people at . . . . .	122 4 10
Surgeon Jas. Joyeux Spitalfields . . . . .	43 2 11
Jas. de Bat. Soho . . . . .	25 6 4
John de Chaulx Westminster . . . . .	17 8 1
Burials of Poor . . . . .	48 14 1
Schoolmaster Paul Bontecou Soho . . . . .	5 0 0
John de Gournay Spitalfields . . . . .	6 5 0
Schoolmistress Mary Carlaud Soho . . . . .	4 3 4

Country Churches	Canterbury	.	.	.	£35	0	0
	Plymouth	.	.	.	8	15	0
	Stonehouse	.	.	.	5	12	0
	Exeter	.	.	.	5	5	0
	Rye	.	.	.	9	12	0
	Bristol	.	.	.	3	10	0
	Dover	.	.	.	3	10	0
	Barnstaple	.	.	.	2	12	6
	Thorp	.	.	.	2	12	6
	Colchester	.	.	.	1	15	0
Various Ministers	per Peter Benech	Minister					
	at Rye	.	.	.	18	0	0
Committee's Meeting Place	.	.	.	.	17	10	0
Balance old account	.	.	.	.	1	12	10
					<hr/>		
					£2,488	6	1

The next and last set of manuscript accounts are preserved in the Records Office of the City of London.

They are for a sum of £7,986 1s. 7d. expended out of £8,000 "received in part payment of £12,000 granted by his Royal Majesty for the Relief of the Poor French Protestants, Refugees into this Kingdom".

The payments extend over the period from May, 1700, to July, 1701.

They are very full, and give the names of the persons of quality and people of middle condition, but as there are no supplementary accounts, we do not possess the names of those of the "meaner sort".

The abstract of the accounts is as follows:—

#### ROYAL BOUNTY 1700.

Persons of Quality	.	.	.	.	£1,253	1	2
People of Middle Condition	.	.	.	.	2,756	5	4
Divers Persons of all Ranks for Extraordinary							
assistance	.	.	.	.	832	1	5
Ecclesiastics	.	.	.	.	144	15	0
People of meaner sort, Spitalfields							
	L'Eglise de l'Hospital.				252	6	4
	Paternoster Row				227	15	3
	The New Church (This						
	was St. Martin Orgars)				186	6	11
	Petticoat Lane	.	.	.	211	12	0
	Soho	.	.	.	463	3	6
	„ Extraordinary	.	.	.	436	15	8

Orphan Children and Weak minded folk . . .	£300	7	6
Pest House . . . . .	336	11	5
do. Lawsuit between Committee & Mr. Peter Fontaine, Minister of Pest House . . . . .		16	13 6
Surgeons Jas. Joyeux Pest House & Spital- fields . . . . .	98	14	4
Jas. Debat Soho . . . . .	71	11	5
John Deschaux Soho . . . . .	49	0	8
Physician John Deffray Soho . . . . .	10	0	0
Jacob Barbot Spitalfields . . . . .	10	0	0
Country Churches. Canterbury . . . . .	120	0	0
Plymouth . . . . .	30	0	0
Stonehouse . . . . .	19	4	0
Bristol . . . . .	12	0	0
Barnstaple . . . . .	9	0	0
Bedifort (Bideford) . . . . .	6	0	0
Dartmouth . . . . .	9	0	0
Dover . . . . .	12	0	0
Exeter . . . . .	15	0	0
Thorp . . . . .	9	0	0
Colchester . . . . .	9	0	0
Rye . . . . .	18	0	0
Rent of Committees Meeting place . . . . .	56	0	0
Balance of account . . . . .	4	16	2
	<hr/> £7,986 1 7 <hr/>		

In the same office are preserved two bundles of receipts for payments made in 1703 and 1709, but as there are no statements of account, they are only interesting for the names of the recipients.

The first bundle, dated 1703, contains 459 printed receipts. Blanks being left for the insertion of the amount of money and the date. The receipts are in French and may be translated thus:—

Received from Mr. Jean Braguier, Treasurer of the Committee established by the Lords appointed by the Queen for the direction of Collections for the French Protestant Refugees the sum of                      allotted for my needs.

Dated London the                      of                      .

It would, therefore, appear as if these were payments against money received on a Brief.

Commissioners appointed by the  
 the distribution of the Royal Bow  
 association made by the said Com

There were 102 payments out

remains a printed state  
 documents made under th  
 master it is said that  
 the allegations of fraud  
 made in origin and the  
 admit.

of the 100 -

£2.20

3.17

1.89

16

1.55

1.62

14

44

18

1

2

4

2

1

1

Beyond the general charges for orphans in the foregoing statement, there were other charges for boarded out orphans in—

Soho . . . . .	£128 16 3
Spitalfields . . . . .	84 3 0

Also payments for—

Schools in Soho . . . . .	29 18 6
1 school and 2 dame schools in Spitalfields . . . . .	25 0 0
Table, Seats and forms for one of the latter . . . . .	1 1 6
Burials in Soho . . . . .	68 12 10
Apprenticing boys in Soho . . . . .	37 11 0

All the above items are included in the total charges for people of the meaner sort.

In the Pest House charges are:—

Jean Hedge, Brickler (bricklayer), repair . . . . .	£10 10 0
Coal . . . . .	4 0 0
Pierre Fontaine, Minister . . . . .	21 0 0

Presumably, the lawsuit in 1700 had terminated to the satisfaction of both parties, as Mr. Fontaine still remained as minister.

The poor people at the Pest House seem to have been under the care of a Matron, Madame Madeleine Liege.

#### OTHER FUNDS.

Although not strictly coming within the limits of the subject of this paper the following particulars concerning other collections, and private assistance rendered to French Protestants, may prove to be of interest.

In 1699 a Brief was granted by William III., dated 2nd March, on a representation made by Monsr. Henri Arnault, for "a collection for the Vaudois, inhabiting the French Valleys who since the conclusion of peace have been excluded from their native country for their Religion". These to the number of 3,500 persons had taken refuge in Switzerland, but having obtained a grant of waste land in Germany they required help to enable them to obtain tools and implements, and to subsist until the crops matured. The settlements were to be composed not only of Vaudois, but also of such French Refugees as should be compelled to leave Switzerland.

There were numerous Commissioners appointed to dispose of the money collected. Mr. Philippe d'Hervart, British Envoy in Switzerland, and George Stepney, Esq., Envoy in

Brandenburgh, were to take charge of the settlement of the people, and no money was to be distributed except on orders signed by the Vaudois and French Committees.

A sum of £27,606 6s. 6½d. was collected.

The following gifts may be noted :—

The King . . . . .	£1,000
Sir Josiah Child . . . . .	200
Madm. Elizbh. Howland . . . . .	200
Earl of Nottingham . . . . .	50
Also several "Unknown donors".	

Various sums were paid to the settlements in Wurtemberg, Hesse Cassel, Brandenburgh.

There are other payments for sending 200 persons to Virginia, with whom went Mr. Benj. de Joux as minister ; and some small sums paid to the Bishop of Worcester "to educate 2 Vaudois at school and at Oxford" and "for the Protestants in Savoy".

A Brief entitled a Grant of Charity to the Refugees of the Principality of Orange was granted by Queen Anne, dated 11th November, 1703.

It stated that 3,000 of the inhabitants of the principality who adhered to the Reformed Religion had lately been forced by the French King to quit their native country because they would not forsake their religion and turn Papists.

This Brief was addressed not only to the clergy of the Established Church but also to the preachers and teachers of the separate congregations and meetings of the Protestant Dissenters.

The amount collected was £19,548 6s. 10d. The great bulk of the money was paid to Alex. Cairnes in sums of £1,000 or £2,000, but some £1,000 was paid to Mr. Louis Frederick Bonet, the King of Prussia's Resident, for the use of the Orange Protestants there.

The following analysis prepared from the printed accounts at Lambeth of the payments made out of the Royal Bounty Fund may be useful for purposes of comparison :—

## PAYMENTS OUT OF BOUNTY, 1703-9.

	1703.			1706.			1707.			1708.			1709.		
	£	s.	D.	£	s.	D.	£	s.	D.	£	s.	D.	£	s.	D.
Persons of Quality . . .	2,381	13	0	2,155	13	0	2,117	10	6	2,153	0	0	2,125	18	0
People of the Middle Condition	4,036	11	1	3,164	6	0	3,099	17	6	3,478	10	6	3,365	5	4
"    "    Meaner Sort . . .	2,508	18	0	3,027	16	9	3,328	14	7	3,243	12	0	3,270	0	4
Orphans . . . . .	230	0	0	305	19	4	183	0	2	198	13	5	319	12	4
Pest House . . . . .	337	0	0	559	9	0	473	13	6	419	8	0	511	17	5
Poor of Country Churches . . .	409	6	0	431	6	0	436	6	0	471	0	0	436	2	0
Doctors and Medicines . . .	243	14	7	239	8	0	176	11	11	97	11	4	95	1	0
Schools . . . . .	...			70	8	4	55	8	4	58	19	3	60	0	0
Extraordinary Charges & Expenses of Distribution )	1,852	17	4	2,045	13	7	2,128	17	6	1,879	5	6	1,816	3	7
	12,000	0	0	12,000	0	0	12,000	0	0	12,000	0	0	12,000	0	0



There was a public subscription for the relief of refugees in 1755. This is evident from the following extract from a little tract, entitled : *A Specimen of the unrelenting Cruelty of Papists in France* :—

“ By publick Advertisement, such as are disposed to relieve the Necessities of the French Protestants have been desired to send their Contributions to Sir Richard Hoare and Company in Fleet Street or Sir Joseph and Sir Thomas Hankey in Fenchurch Street. At this time Benefactions are greatly wanted, Emigrants coming daily, and seventy three of the Persecuted for Righteousness Sake, have been relieved since last December.”

The following extract refers to the last subscription raised in England for the persecuted Protestants in France (1812-13) :—

“ The persecution of the French Protestants on the restoration of Louis XVIII. and their massacre at Nismes, occasioned the English Protestants to interest themselves heartily for their relief. The Committee of Dissenters at Dr. Williams' Library inquired into the facts, published a verifying report, and took measures for sending pecuniary succour.”

Besides the assistance given to the early refugees from the public collections they received much kindness from private sources, as may be seen from the following notes :—

Several Bishops and Noblemen received Destitute Ministers into their families or otherwise provided for them.

Wm. Kiffen, Merchant, Alderman and Baptist Minister, received under his protection a French refugee family of considerable rank, fitted up and furnished a house for their reception, provided them with servants and maintained them at his own expense.

Rev. John Quick, M.A., Minister of the Presbyterian Church in Bartholomew Close, was very compassionate and was at great pains and expense for the relief of the poor French Protestants on account of the noble testimony they bore to religion by their sufferings. He was the author of *Synodicon in Gallia Reformata*.

Rev. Thos. Cotton, M.A., Minister of the Presbyterian Church in St. Giles in the Fields, was in France during the troubles (1681-5) and was present at the destruction of the Temples at Saumur and Charenton. What he then saw fixed in his mind such a tender concern for the French

Protestants as occasioned him to exert all his influence on their behalf.

It may be noticed here that Dr. Wake, afterwards Archbishop of Canterbury, in later years of great assistance to the refugees, was Chaplain to the British Ambassador in Paris, 1685 (*circa*).

As an example of the consideration shown to the refugees, the following extract from the minutes of the Court of Aldermen is interesting:—

1688, March 15.

This court being now informed that the Royal Exchange below stairs used to be a good accommodation for divers poor French Protestants, who on the Lord's daies resorted thither from their church in the morning, and there were wont to continue until church time in the afternoon. It is ordered by this Court, that for convenience of said poore persons, the gates of the Royall Exchange shall be opened on every Lord's-day for the future, untill further order of this court, at eleven of the clock before noon, and continue open untill two, and then be shut up again (City Repertories 93, fol. 92b).

#### NUMBERS RELIEVED.

The Numbers of Refugees<sup>1</sup> relieved from time to time is interesting. I have obtained various figures from statements emanating from the Relief Committees, but whether the basis of computation has been the same in each case may be considered to be doubtful.

The first available figures are for the period from 8th May, 1686, to December, 1687, or about twenty months, when 15,000 persons are said to have been relieved. This would give an average for one year of 9,000.

<sup>1</sup> It was stated in 1689 in the House of Commons that there were 20,000 Refugees plying Trade, etc., in this country, and that three Regiments had been raised among the young men. In addition there were 2,000 in receipt of relief as mentioned above.

From a contemporary MS. under the date 1695, it is stated that there were four French regiments in the English establishment numbering altogether 3,590 officers and men. Misson, in 1698, says eleven regiments.

In 1694 some of the French Committee in a statement presented to the House of Commons estimate the numbers of the Refugees in England as being 33,000.

In 1689 there were said to		
be above	2,000	Jol. of Hse. Com.
„ 1693 there were relieved	2,383	Rec. Office. Treas. Papers
		xxi. 36. 1692-3.
„ 1694 we find in receipt		
of help about	3,000	See Brief of that year.
„ 1696 do.	2,412	Wake MSS. 27. art. 131.
„ 1703 do.	5,505	Lambeth 66. A. 5.
„ 1709 do.	4,843	Wake MSS. 27. art. 131.
„ 1716 do.	5,194	do.
„ 1721 do.	over 7,000	do.

The increase in the numbers of those receiving relief may seem strange but from a paper in the Wake MSS. (27 Art. 128-131) we are able to extract the following :—

#### REASONS FOR THE INCREASE IN THEIR NUMBER (SUMMARISED).

Some persons think that since the beginning of their Refuge their number should be considerably lessened . . . yet it is certain that the number of poor Refugees increases every year, which though seemingly somewhat strange, for many are settled in the world and many die every year, yet may be easily accounted for :—

1. Many brought money, and have subsisted thereon for several years but now have to receive help. Some received money from relatives in France, but now are deprived of that help either by death or in consequence of late severe edict.
2. Others have maintained themselves and families for 20 or 30 years but now through age or infirmities are disabled.
3. Some are dead who maintained themselves but have left widows and children who require help; some of whom have to be maintained in French Hospital at the charge of Bounty.
4. The numbers are considerably increased by those who daily come from France especially since the last edict concerning Religion and likewise from Germany and other places where the Protestants are now persecuted and forced to quit their abodes to seek for new places of Refuge and Protection.

DATE 1725.

The poor French Refugees living for the most part in garrets and cellars are not qualified to be relieved in the parishes in which they live, having never been housekeepers, and such of their brethren who are in better circumstances and are housekeepers, pay all the parish taxes and namely the Poor Tax which makes a considerable sum. They maintain besides the preaching Ministers in their own Congregations and have built at their own charges most of the Chapels in which they perform Divine Service, for which they pay large Rents, insomuch that they cannot contribute so liberally as they would wish to the relief of the poor Refugees, but they have—as a great many well disposed Englishmen have done—trusted them, according to their abilities with bread and other absolute necessities during the interruption of the Royal Bounty of which three years and a quarter were due at Christmas last. And if the payment is any longer suspended a considerable number of industrious people must break and increase the number of the poor refugees, who—next to God—have no other means and dependance in the world to subsist, but the continuation of the Royal Bounty.

## FIRMIN.

Before proceeding to consider more in detail some of the items which appear in the accounts, it may be well to call to mind the work done by Mr. Firmin, whose name constantly appears in the early years:—

In *The Life of Mr. Thos. Firmin, late Citizen of London, written by one of his most intimate acquaintance*, first published 1698, reprinted 1791, it is said that “in the years 1680 and 1681 came over the French Protestants. These afforded new work for Mr. Firmin’s charity & zeal, for of all the objects of charity he thought those the most deserving who were undone for conscience toward God.”

“The first and one of the most difficult cares for them was how to provide lodgings for such multitudes in a city where lodgings are as costly as diet. But Mr. Firmin bethought him of the Pest-house then empty of patients, the motion was approved by the Lord Mayor and Court of Aldermen, and some hundreds of these strangers were accommodated in that spacious and convenient place.” (See also City of London Rep. 86, fol. 227.)

It is also stated that in the year 1682 he set up a linen

manufacture for the French at Ipswich, to which he himself gave £100. He paid also for their meeting place at Ipswich £13.

Firmin was probably of Refugee origin (see Mr. Moens "History of Norwich Church").

He was the son of Henry and Prudence Firmin, and was born at Ipswich in 1632.

He was a man of many charities and was held in such esteem that many people entrusted him with sums of money for distribution.

He is generally esteemed to be the originator of parish workhouses, as in order to relieve the poor he built with the aid of some friends, in 1674, a linen manufacture in Little Britain, where from 1,600 to 1,700 persons were employed as spinners, besides dressers of flax, weavers and others. Some years later he built a woollen manufacture in Artillery Lane.

He was a Governor of Christ's Hospital and was largely instrumental in building the schools at Hertford. He was also a Governor of St. Thomas's Hospital.

He died in 1697, and was buried in Christ Church, Newgate Street, where there is a tablet to his memory. A monument was also erected to his memory at Morden Park, Surrey, by his friend, Sir Robert Clayton.

He numbered among his close friends Dr. Tillotson and Dr. Edmund Fowler, afterwards Bishop of Gloucester.

He lived in Three Kings Court, Lombard Street.

#### PEST-HOUSE.

As Mr. Firmin appears to have obtained the use of the Pesthouse for the refugees, it would seem right to take the items referring to this house for the subject of the first examination.

The first payment was made on 7th February, 1682.

The payments were mostly made to Mr. Wm. Smythie until March, 1685.

This gentleman was probably Chaplain to the Pest-house. He was Curate to Dr. Edward Fowler, Vicar of St. Giles Cripplegate, and also Lecturer at St. Michaels, Cornhill.

The following items are interesting:—

Mar. 17, 1682, Beds	£25 18
Sept. 5, „ Sheets	20 0
Jan. 9, 1683, Coarse Linen	44 0

In August, 1685, Mr. Smythies was still connected with the Pest-house, for Mr. Firmin writes to the Bishop of London: "I know not whether Mr. Smithies be reimbursed the money he was out of purse for the poor people at the Pesthouse. If he be not I pray he may be remembered for he told me he was in danger of being arrested for it" (Rawl. c. 984, fol. 64).

We now lose sight of this institution until 1696, when various payments were made, of which some were for clothes and repairs to the building.

In 1701 repairs were . . . . .	£1 12 0
Lawsuit with Mr. Fontaine (Minister) . . . . .	16 13 6
1709 Repairs . . . . .	10 10 0

The designation "French Hospital" was used for this house as early as 1705 (see Rawl. c. 984, f. 146).

#### WARE.

In 1683 we find various entries for "nursing ye French children sent to Ware". Probably these were orphans. Most of the payments were made to Mr. Firmin.

The last entry relating to Ware is under date 12th April, 1684:—

For discharging the French children at Ware and bringing them up from there . . . . . £20

Presumably, therefore, this scheme of boarding out was abandoned in favour of another whereby the children were placed with French families in Soho or Spitalfields.

In the later accounts the entries relating to orphans are somewhat complicated: we not only have a special heading for payments relating to "orphans and weak-minded people," but also various entries for orphans boarded out.

#### BOUGHTON MALHERBE.

1682, March 23, To Charles Marquis de Venours, Moses Charas and Daniel Poulverel for 43 French Protestants sent to Boughton Malherbe . . . . . £32

As the history of this colony has not been written, it may be interesting to run over the various items of information that we have.

On 27th February, 1682, the Archbishop of Canterbury wrote to the Rector of Boughton Malherbe to inform him

that the Marquis de Venours had purchased some land of the Earl of Chesterfield, and intended to settle a little colony of French Protestants upon it, and stating that as these people did not understand English he had appointed Mr. Jacques Rondeau to be their minister, requiring him (the Rector) therefore to allow them the use of his church.

In December, 1682, Alexander Culpeper and others write to Archbishop Sancroft to ask that Mr. Rondeau may have a licence to preach at Hollingbourne instead of Boughton Malherbe, as it would be more central for the people. They state that the farmers were going into other parishes as the land was not good, and Boughton Malherbe lying off the high road there was a difficulty in sending produce to market.

The colony was evidently rent by dissensions from its commencement. Poulverel, writing to Archbishop Sancroft, says Rondeau made mischief between the Marquis de Venours, Mr. Charras and himself. Rondeau replies that he tried to make peace and not trouble, and that he actually prevented the Marquis de Venours striking Poulverel while they were quarrelling in the gallery of the House.

Poulverel brings various other charges against Rondeau, among others that one Sunday when the Sacrament was to be celebrated Rondeau was late at church, and when he went for him he found him eating roast pork which he considered a great scandal.

No doubt Rondeau was a difficult man to get on with. The last mention of him is in 1697.

From the correspondence it is seen that some of the refugees had settled at Lenham, some at Hollingbourne, and some at Rainham.

In the Church registers of the places mentioned there is not much of interest. The register of Boughton Malherbe for these years is lost and only a note-book preserved. In it there are no French names.

At Lenham from 1684 the name "Plat" appears fairly often, but not before this date. As two of Rondeau's brothers married sisters whose maiden name was Plat, it is not improbable that some members of the family settled here. In 1692 there is a marriage of "Thomas Michel," also of a lady named "Leavite" and of a man bearing the name of "Tranconand" or "Trauconaud"; in 1702 the burial of a "William Tailler". These names have a French look, but that is all that can be said. At Rainham, however, there are

three entries, against each of which is the note "French Protestant":—

1686, Oct. 18, Daniel Rommouse and Mary Restinian, married.

1688, Mar. 25, Charlotte daughter of Michael Curby, baptised.

1712, June 28, Mary wife of Daniel Rumsy, buried.

The colony at one time numbered about 100 persons, and it would appear that fresh arrivals from France were sent to join the original members on two separate occasions.

The Marquis de Venours had estates in Poitou, which were forfeited and given to his son, who remained in France and became a Roman Catholic. In 1684 the marquis was at Haarlem and in 1687 at Berlin, where he died in 1692.

Moses Charras was a celebrated Paris physician. He was naturalised in England with his family in 1682, and was appointed surgeon to Charles II. Ultimately he and his family went to Holland, and from thence several members went back to France, where he and some of his sons, after suffering imprisonment, became "New Catholics".

Jacques Rondeau took holy orders in the English Church on 20th February, 1682, and after serving the French refugees he became curate to the Vicar of Hollingbourne, and served the Chapel of Huckinge (attached to Hollingbourne) from 1690 to 1697. In that year he apparently joined the Unitarian body at Canterbury, which had been organised by his brother Claude Rondeau. This Claude Rondeau was a successful silk merchant, whose son was for some years British Ambassador at St. Petersburg. (See Tanner MSS., xcii., fols. 76, 134, 136, 137, 141, 143, 144, 145, 147; cxxiv., fol. 57; xxxvi., fol. 239, and Vis. Arch. of Canty., 1675-98.)

#### IPSWICH.

A considerable sum of money was granted between 1681 and 1685 for the settlement at Ipswich.

In the notice of Thomas Firmin, we saw that he had some influence in establishing the linen manufacture in this town, which was his birthplace.

There is an interesting account of the steps which were taken to found this settlement in the *Impartial Protestant Mercury*, No. 39, September 2-6, 1681, corrected by No. 42, September 13-16:—



Some gentlemen being appointed by the French Church to find out the best and speediest way to imploy several of the poor Protestants that are fled from France, they have been at the Town of Ipswich to settle a Linen Manufacture, and having proposed it to the said Town, they have so well approved of the same as to proffer them all the furtherance possible as that they will lend them one of their churches and free them from Church and Parish duties and have pitched upon a Convenience for the same which is well liked of, whereupon there will be a Fund or Stock settled to carry on this work beginning first with Twenty Looms and other utensils and Sir Samuel Barnardiston and some worthy citizens are gone thither to promote the same. We are assured that His Majesty will graciously afford them all possible encouragement as that their Church shall be allowed the same liberty and Priviledges as the French Church here enjoys and will also give a support to their Minister.

Reference is made to "a fund or stock to be settled to carry on the work". The full title of this early Trading Company was (see *Life of Thos. Papillon*), "Adventurers in the Stock raised for setting poor French Protestants to work at Ipswich in the Linen Manufacture".

This undertaking was supported by about seventy adventurers, who subscribed various amounts from £5 to £80 each. The amounts subscribed were not all paid up at once. Some persons paying in full and others making their payments as the money was required during the next three or four years.

The total capital was about £2,300.

Among the subscribers were: Bishop of London (Dr. Compton), Dean of Canterbury (Dr. Tillotson), Dean of St. Pauls (Dr. Stillingfleet), Earl of Berkeley, John Pollexfen (the great Whig lawyer), Sir John Moore (afterwards Lord Mayor), Sir Patience Ward (Lord Mayor, 1681), Alderman Cornish (executed), Sir Wm. Pritchard (afterwards Lord Mayor), Thos. Papillon, Wm. Carbonnel, Peter Heringhooke, Peter Kesterman, Isaac de Vinck, Sir John Fredrick, Jas. Deneu, Daniel de Prie, Davd. Primerose (Mnstr. Threadneedle Street), Sir John Houblon and two brothers, Sir Herman Olmius, Peter Delmé, Peter Renew, John de Bois, Thos. Firmin.

It is believed that this Company never paid a dividend, and apparently it was ultimately absorbed by the Linen

Corporation of London, as in the *History of Ipswich*, by G. R. Clarke, 1830 (p. 65), there is the following extract from the Corporation Records:—

1690, Dec. 9. A Committee was appointed to receive proposals concerning the Linen Manufactory, and it was agreed that the Town should furnish the Linen Corporation with a convenient Workhouse for carrying on the Trade, Gratis.

If the Corporation shall think fit to set up a bleachery in or near the Town then the Town shall furnish it at a reasonable rate.

It was further resolved that the common hoymen shall be compelled to carry the goods at a moderate rate.

Mr. Snelling was appointed to go to London to treat with the Linen Corporation.

It is evident that from the commencement the industry had to be subsidised by the Commissioners.

In 1686, the settlement needed help. In Tanner MSS. 92, f. 119, there is a petition from the magistrates of Ipswich to the Bishop of Norwich asking for assistance for the poor French Protestants of that town. They say "the number of them is considerable, but they are all of the poorest meanest sort, and unable of themselves to raise a fund to employ themselves in their trade, and although this Town hath been highly charitable to them in lending them monies, yet we find it far short of what would be necessary to set them all on work.

"They are for the present in a very low condition, although we find them very ready upon all opportunitys to imploy themselves."

A woollen manufacture was started in 1682, apparently controlled by a company similar to that supporting the linen industry. This was also subsidised by the Commissioners.

There is also a petition from Mr. Gardeman, the French minister, dated 1686, asking for help, but as he refers only to the linen weavers, we may perhaps conclude that the woollen manufactory was firmly established. The Woollen Industry continued till about 1820, although the number of weavers employed diminished very greatly after about 1760.

A silk industry was also established here about 1693.

In Clarke's *History of Ipswich* there is the following extract from the Corporation Records:—

It was agreed that 50 families of French Protestants

that manufacture Lutestring (Lustring) shall be admitted Inhabitants in this Town, and they shall have 20/- each family and the charges of coming to the Town shall be found by the Town. They shall have a Church minded for them and allowance for their Minister of £20 a year for two years, and they shall not be rated nor put into any office for seven years.

Mr. Snelling shall go to London to treat with the Frenchmen about this business.

From 1681 to September, 1682, the minister and reader were Caesar de Beaulieu and Rene Guybert respectively ; after that date the minister was Baltazar Gardeman who was, as we have seen, still there in 1686.

Pierre Le Grand was appointed reader in 1682. He is evidently the Peter Grant to whom the pass was given in 1690, which was printed in the fourth volume of the Society's *Proceedings*.

As Thos. Firmin gave a contribution towards providing a place of worship here, we may conclude that they had a building for this purpose from the commencement of the settlement.

#### RYE.

The first payment for Rye was made on 19th December, 1681, for one quarter's salary to Paul Bertrand, the minister. It would thus appear that this settlement was one of the earliest in this country, the few remaining members of the previous settlement having been absorbed into the English population. In Quick's MS. *Life of Matthieu Cartaut* (in Dr. William's library) we read that on his return to France at the end of the sixteenth century nearly the whole of his congregation returned with him.

There are two other interesting entries, 11th May, 1682, Nets for the fishermen at Rye, and 14th November, Fitting a place for public worship.

The earlier settlements here followed the discipline of the Reformed Church of France, and apparently the refugees wished to follow the same rule. In the Tanner MSS., xxxv., f. 210, is a letter from Lord Winchelsea to the Bishop of Chichester, in which he refers to this and then says, "which did cause some disputes between Monsr. Bertrand and his congregation," "by ye prudence of ye Lord Bishop of London they are all reconciled, and have

submitted themselves to ye Church of England''. This was apparently written in February or March, 1683.

Notwithstanding this, the relationships of Mr. Bertrand and his flock do not appear to have been very happy, and about a year later he was probably removed. In October, 1685, in his marriage licence he is described as of St. Mary Savoy. In the Rawlinson MSS., C. 984, f. 51, is a letter addressed to Charles Mossom (the secretary to the committee in London) by Mr. Bertrand. This letter is dated 15th April, 1684, and in it Mr. Bertram complains of his treatment and protests against the complaints which had been lodged.

There is an undated paper also in the Rawlinson MSS., C. 984, f. 276, in which reference is made to Mr. Bertrand's removal from Rye, and suggesting that Mr. Jeremie Majou should be appointed in his place, because most of the people there were formerly part of his father's congregation, and are well affected toward him. I have not been able to discover whether he was appointed.

However in the same collection (Rawl., C. 984, f. 72) there is a letter from the master-fishers at Rye, dated 7th June, 1686, addressed to Bishop Compton of London, thanking him that now they have a real minister of Christ.

Mr. Durrant Cooper mentions an Isaac Bordeau buried at Rye in 1686. He may have been an assistant minister.

In 1695 Mr. Pierre Benech was minister, as there is a receipt signed by him in that year and there is a letter dated 2nd September, 1695 (Lamb., 1029, No. 92), from which it would appear that he had been there for some time. In September, 1686, however, he was at Maldon, so that there must have been another minister here between his appointment and Mr. Bertrand's removal.

The entry referring to fitting up a place of worship is most interesting, as it fully confirms Mr. Durrant Cooper's contention that the refugees had a separate church here.

Several of the payments were made to Daniel Brulon, to whom a warrant (printed in *Proceedings*, vol. iv.) was given in 1682, so that no hindrance should be put in the way of the conveyance of fish from Rye to London. Mr. Brulon was, as already mentioned, one of the two refugees to whom the freedom of the City of London was granted in 1682.

## WANDSWORTH.

The only payment to this church, under the first collection, was made 6th July, 1682, to Nicholas Lichere, elder of the church. It was for the purpose of fitting a place for public worship.

The entry is interesting because the order of the Bishop of Winchester, dated 10th August, 1683, has been the earliest authentic reference hitherto known. By this order the bishop abolished the Consistory, and ordered that in place thereof two churchwardens should be elected.

I have no doubt, however, that the memorial to Bishop Compton mentioned in *Proceedings*, vol. v., p. 310 (Rawl., C. 984, f. 258), and there stated to be signed by twenty-one French Protestants at Windsor, praying for the establishment of a pastor and a reader, is really a memorial from Wandsworth.

A petition from Wandsworth to Archbishop Sancroft in 1686 refers to a petition to the Lords Commissioners presented at their first settling, in which they stated that they wished to conform to the Church of England. It then relates that a grant was made to them of £20 to assist them in obtaining a fit place for the service of God and a further grant of 12s. a week for a minister.

The £20, we have seen, was paid in 1682.

The memorial to Bishop Compton sets forth that some manufactures have been and some are going to be established; that this has attracted to this place several French Protestant workmen with their families, and that several other families are disposed to settle down there, if they can have a service in their own language. This being a necessity, as they do not understand English and it is so much trouble and expense to go to the Savoy.

This last clause would appear to show that the memorial cannot have been sent from Windsor. There would have been no possible reason for any one in that place to make any reference to the Savoy. The matter, however, is simplified very much if we suppose that the memorial came from Wandsworth.

The name of the place is mentioned twice, and in both places has been spelt "Winsor" afterwards corrected to "Wansor". The French refugees did sometimes spell Wandsworth "Wansor," and it is not very difficult to

imagine that to the early settlers the name was so great a difficulty that any spelling was excusable.

Of the twenty-one signatures, there are two which may assist in deciding from whence the petition was sent, one is "Licheret," possibly the elder of the church to whom the grant was paid, and the other is "Hebert". There were two persons of the name of "Hebert" buried at Mount Nod Cemetery. There is also a signature "Le Fort" which may be of assistance. There are two persons of this name buried at Chelsea, one a refugee, and the other his son. In the French burying ground there are several members of a family of "Strong" described as of Chelsea and Wandsworth.

As so little is known of the early history of Wandsworth, it would be extremely interesting if this suggestion should prove to be correct.

#### WHITBY.

There is a payment of £5 on 15th March, 1682, to Wm. Jefferson for the passage of several French Protestants to Whitby.

#### DR. ALLIX' CONGREGATION, AFTERWARDS THE CHURCH OF ST. MARTIN ORGARS.

Nov. 4th, 1689.—Paid to Francis Lord Bishop of Ely . £500 to be disposed of by His Lordship with the Deans of St. Paul and St. Asaph and Dr. Scot to the use of the Church and Poor of the French Congregation in Jewin Street.

This congregation probably met in the meeting house formerly used by Mr. Jenkins, a Nonconformist minister, who died for his religious belief in Newgate. This Mr. Jenkins was the grandson of Rogers, the proto-martyr of the Marian persecution.

Jewin Street is in the parish of Cripplegate.

We have seen how much interest Mr. Smythies, the curate of the parish, took in the Pest house which was also in this parish.

#### PLYMOUTH.

There are two payments in 1684 to Mr. Gommarc, minister at Plymouth, the first of which was made on 27th June.

There is also a payment to Mr. Gommarc under date 13th March, 1682, but it does not state whether he was then at

Plymouth. However, in a letter (Rawl. MSS., C. 982, fol. 33) to the Bishop of London, dated 2nd May, 1684, **he** mentions, in acknowledging the receipt of £7 16s., that **he** had been long at Plymouth.

From a letter in the Rawlinson MSS. (D. 641, f. 94) there would also appear to have been a second church here about 1690, of which Mr. Lions was minister. This church being Nonconformist, and retaining the old French service, did not share in the early distributions.

In 1696 Mr. Gommarc was certainly no longer minister of the Conformist Church. Possibly he came to London about 1690.

In 1698 Mr. J. de Joux was the minister of the first church, and Mons. N. Lions was still ministering to the Nonconformist congregation, as they jointly signed the accounts for £8 15s. expended in the relief of about seventy persons.

In 1699 Mr. Barbauld, pastor of the French Church at Plymouth, was elected one of the ministers of the Leicester Fields Church (Act Book of that church).

#### STONEHOUSE.

From the accounts of 1698 we obtain the name of Mr. Molenier as minister. He signed the receipt for £5 12s. There were about forty persons relieved. Mr. Molenier was still here in 1706 (Lamb MSS., 941, 64).

#### DARTMOUTH.

There are no specific payments to this settlement in the early accounts, but from a paper in the Rawlinson Collection (D. 641, f. 94) the first minister appears to have been Mr. Santé, and about 1696 Mr. Pentecôte was the minister.

In 1706 Mr. Forestier was serving this church (see Lamb MSS., 941, 64).

#### BEAUMONSHALL.

In 1684, 27th September, Mr. Severin, minister here, received £15 12s.

This settlement was afterwards removed to Thorpe le Soken, at which place Mr. H. Mestayer was minister in 1698. He was still here in 1706 (Lamb MSS., 941, 64), but in 1717 Mr. Richet was the minister.

The poor in receipt of assistance in 1698 numbered ten persons.

SALISBURY.

Nov. 16, 1686. Paid to Chas. Mossom for the relief of 3 French Ministers at Salisbury.

This is a solitary reference to this city.

BRISTOL.

It would almost appear as if there were two churches here, as the receipt in 1698 is signed by Mr. Tinel, ministre, and then 2 anciens, then by Mr. Descaires, ministre, and 2 more anciens.

There were about eighteen persons relieved, with an expenditure of £3 10s.

EXETER.

There were here two churches, one Conformist with Mr. Aubin as minister, and one Nonconformist having Mr. P. J. Violet as minister; both of whom sign the receipt in 1698 for money received for relief of the poor, of whom it would appear there were eleven who together received £5 5s.

COLCHESTER.

In 1698 M. François Dese signs as minister.

There were thirty-two persons relieved at a total cost of £1 15s.

DOVER.

In 1698 there is a signature of Mr. David Campredon, minister, to the receipt for £3 10s. used for the assistance of twenty persons.

BARNSTAPLE.

Mr. David Le Coultre was minister here in 1698, but he was dead in 1706 (see Lamb MSS., 941, 64).

The receipt in 1698 was for £2 12s. 6d., and eight persons benefited.

In Chanter and Wainwright's Reprint of the *Barnstaple Records*, vol. i., p. 193, we read, under the heading "Documents relating to St. Anne's Chapel now the Grammar School": "Besides its ordinary use as a school, this building at the end of the seventeenth century began to be occupied on Sundays by a congregation of French Huguenot Refugees, who landed here in 1685 after the Revocation of the Edict of



Nantes, and it continued to be so occupied by their descendants for nearly a hundred years, the worshippers being ministered to in the French language until, by intermarriages, they lost their nationality, and the need of a separate service ceased".

#### EMIGRATION.

There are several payments to assist parties to go abroad :—

January 29 1683	Passage of 12 persons to Jamaica.
May 3 "	" " 55 " to Virginia.
June 15 "	" " several persons to West Indies.
Sept. 28 "	" " 4 gentlemen and their servants to America.

July and August 1684 Madme. du Chaal and Peter du Verger and family to Carolina.

Oct. 10th. Peter de la foretre and two others to America.

May 14 1689 Passage of various persons to Pennsylvania.

*Domk. Intelligence*, August 31-September 4, 1682.

Many of the persecuted French Protestants designe to imbarque for the West India Plantations.

#### ROCHESTER.

There are no payments, in the accounts, for the assistance of any refugees at Rochester, but it is evident there was a settlement here.

*Domestick Intelligence*, October 19-23, 1682.

Rochester, Oct. 20. The French Protestants that have settled in this City are greatly encouraged by the Citizens, having many Priviledges granted them, whereby they are inabled to maintain themselves very comfortably.

#### FAVERSHAM.

In the Tanner MSS. (92, f. 101) is a letter in Latin from Pierre Morin, minister here, to the Archbishop of Canterbury. It was probably written about 1686.

In 1706 a M. Raoul was minister (see Lamb MSS., 941, 64).

It may be interesting to note the following references to the *Ports of Entry* :—

DOVER.

Feby. 6, 1681-2. Paid Mr. Papillon to be returned to the Magistrates of Dover for charges they had been at for hireing carriages to convey the poor French Protestants landed there from time to time, to Canterbury £5. 10s. 0d.

*The Domestick Intelligence* states :—

Jany.	12-16,	1681-2	that 2 Barques landed 12 French Protestants.
March	2-6,	1681-2	„ Several French Protestants arrive daily.
Oct.	16-19,	1682	„ French Protestants continue to come over as much as ever.
April	3-6,	„	„ 3 Ministers and 6 others arrived from Calais.
June 29-July 3,	„	„	Many French Protestants make their escape hither.
August	7-10,	„	„ 6 men, 2 women and 3 children arrived.

FOLKESTONE.

Feby. 10, 1681-2. Paid Thos. Papillon Esq. for the Mayor and Jurats of Folkeston for the charges they had been at upon the arrival of some numbers of French Protestants in their Town, and for carriages to convey them and their goods to Dover, £5.

PLYMOUTH.

*London Gazette*, Sept. 8-12, 1681, says :—

An open Shallop from Rochelle with 40 or 50 French Protestants. There were with them 4 other Boats, one of which has put into

DARTMOUTH,

and the others have not yet been heard of.

PENZANCE OR MOUNTS BAY.

*London Gazette*, Oct. 20-24, 1681.

A vessel from St. Martin's has put into Mounts Bay with 36 French Protestants.

## DEAL.

*Domestick Intelligence.*

- Feb. 27-Mar. 2, 1681-2 A shallop with 11 French Protestants from Diep.  
 June 19-22, 1682 Many French Protestants arrive daily.  
 Oct. 30-Nov. 2, 1682 A shallop with 17 French Protestants.

## PORTSMOUTH.

Sept. 24, 1681. A letter from Col. Legge to Archbishop Sancroft advising arrival of several French Protestants who have received all relief of which the Town is capable so he is now sending them to London.

## LONDON.

*Impartial Protestant Mercury.*

- Sept. 9-13, 1681 2 vessels with 300 French Protestants with their wives and children landed at Tower Wharf.  
 „ 16-20, „ 3 vessels full of French Protestants of which 1 with 100 souls from Rochelle also other shallops with a few men.

*Domestick Intelligence.*

- Jany. 19-22, 1682 Tower Wharf, 20 in Boats.  
 Feby. 9-13, „ Many French Protestants landed at St. Katherine's Wharf.

## HASTINGS.

Probably some refugees landed here (see Rec. Off., Treasury Papers, Wm. & Mary, 1694), and also at WEYMOUTH (see Robert's Report in appendix).

## DUBLIN.

The following extracts referring to Dublin are added, as they may be of interest :—

*London Gazette*, November 24-28, 1681.

Dublin, Nov. 16.

There is come hither of late a considerable number of Protestants from France, who are received with great Kindness and Courtesie. The Lord Lieutenant having

proposed in Council That a sum of Money might be given them for their present Relief, and having set the first Example himself, according to his usual Generosity, the Lord Primate and Chancellor and all the rest of the Council have contributed likewise, and are resolved to make further Provision for them, as their numbers shall increase. An Order is likewise sent from the Lord Lieutenant and Council, to the Lord Mayor of this City to appoint some Trust and Substantial Men to go from House to House, to gather Charitable Contributions for them. The Lord Mayor has also granted the Freedom of the City to several of the said Protestants that are Artizans.

*Domestick Intelligence*, January 5-9, 1681-2.

His Grace the Duke of Ormond has given orders that the French Protestants that arrive in that Kingdom shall be kindly entertained and relieved by the Magistrates of the respective places where they shall land, and that all convenient means be used for settling them to such Employments as they are capable of exercising.

*Impartial Protestant Mercury*.

May 9-12, 1682.

We are told of some disturbance that happened on May-Day at Dublin by some Prentices and ordinary people, who pretended themselves aggrieved that so many French came here, and were suffered to live in the City and under-worked them.

#### SCOTLAND.

Agnew mentions that a collection was made in Scotland in connection with the 1681 brief. There is no reference in the accounts to money received from this quarter.

#### CONCLUSION.

The French King naturally did not like to lose so many hard-working subjects, therefore not only was every conceivable means used to prevent their leaving France but also to make them return.

We have seen that at one time rumours were spread that the refugees were not Protestants but Papists come over to assist in a suggested invasion of England by France, "Hoping thereby," as an old pamphleteer says, "to incite the

Hatred of the Protestant People against them, to stop the Charitable Benevolence and consequently to constrain them by Hundreds to return home". Again it was constantly asserted that there was no persecution in France, by which they hoped to "effect a considerable prejudice to some, if not all, the Refugees and constrain them by that means to return into the French King's Dominions".

Another means adopted was to send a special agent to interview the refugees at their various settlements to persuade them, if possible, to return. The report of this agent, M. Robert, is printed in the appendix. This was partially successful.

At a later date, 1698, another attempt was made to attract the refugees. The extract is from the preface to a tract, entitled: *A True Relation of what hath been Transacted in behalf of those of the Reformed Religion during the Treaty of Peace at Reswick* :—

"The French Court is very unwilling to lose so many Subjects, witness the Bills that were set up at the Doors of several French Churches in London, whereby the Refugees were invited to apply themselves to the French Ambassador, and promised that they should have Passes gratis, and be furnished with Money to carry them home. This was not done by Protestants but by Papists."

This was certainly ingenious, as to some it would appear that notices appearing on the doors of their own churches must have been placed there with the consent of their pastors and others in authority.

Notwithstanding every effort, but few of the refugees returned, and ultimately these attempts seem to have been given up as useless; thus in due time those who came here for a place of temporary refuge found instead a permanent home. The strain was great both on English and French while the process of absorption was in progress, but the result has been a great and permanent benefit to this country, and probably none would be more pleased than the original refugees had it been possible for them to see the outcome of their sufferings.

The commissioners appointed to distribute the funds collected under the brief issued in 1681 met at the Mercers' Hall Chapel in Cheapside. Those for the 1685 and following briefs at Serjeants' Inn Hall, Fleet Street. The secretary to

the commissioners under the three first briefs was Charles Mossom, and for that of 1694 Philip Tully. Mossom was advertised in 1689 in the *London Gazette* for obtaining money under false pretences.

Although the foregoing notes are somewhat fragmentary, yet it is possible that some of the items may prove useful to those who are dealing with the subject more fully.

I cannot close without expressing my thanks for the assistance, information and advice given to me by Baron Ferdinand de Schikler, Professor York Powell, Dr. Sharpe, R. S. Faber, Esq., G. H. Overend, Esq., and Chas. Welch, Esq.; also to the Court of Aldermen of the City of London for permission to search the City Records.

## APPENDIX.

No. 1.

REPORT BY MONS<sup>R</sup> ROBERT, AGENT TO THE FRENCH  
AMBASSADOR.Baschet Transcripts 1686 (46).  
Affaires Étrangères.Sér. Angl., Reg. No 160 f<sup>os</sup> 385-394.Memoire de ce que j'ay remarqué dans le voiage qui m'a este ordonné  
par Monsieur de Bonrepaus  
(Londres, 6 janvier 1686).MEMOIRE SUR CE QUI CONCERNE LE FRANÇOIS DE LA  
RELIGION PRETENDUE REFORMÉE.

De toutes les villes dont il est parlé cy dessus il n'y a que Pleimouth ou il y ayt des François de la R. P. R. pour y faire quelque séjour ; encore attendent ils que l'hyver soit passé afin qu'une saison plus commode leur permotte de s'aller habiter ailleurs. Véritablement il en est débarqué plusieurs dans les autres villes, mais ils n'ont fait que passer parce que ce ne sont pas des lieux ou l'on puisse trouver aucun secours, et ils sont tous venus a Londres.

A Bristol on me dit qu'il pouvait y avoir passé 35 ou 40 François et que quatre matelots avoient pris party sur un vaisseau Anglois qui estoit allé aux isles de l'Amérique. Quand j'y estois, il n'y avait que deux ministres de la Rochelle auxquels je parlay et qui me disent que je leur annonçois une nouvelle trop difficile a persuader et qu'ils ne croiroient jamais qu'il y eust aucune seurete en France pour ceux de leur Religion, et quelque chose que je leur pus dire, ils me répèterenttoûjours la mesme chose et ne vouloient pas mesme escouter ce que je leur disois.

A Falmouth on me dit qu'il y avait débarqué environ vingt François qui avoient passé et que sur des vaisseaux qui avoient relasché et qui passoient en Irlande il en avoit passé 25 ou 30. Quand j'y estois il y avait encore un vaisseau qui alloit a Dublin sur lequel il y avoit sept ou huit François. J'en vis quatre auxquels je parlay et qui me dirent que quand mesme on leur accorderoit de prescher en France, ce ne seroit que pour les attirer et pour leur faire ensuite plus de peine, et quand j'insistay pour le dire qu'on leur donneroit toutes les assurances qu'ils pourroient souhaitter ils se retirèrent et ne voulurent plus escouter.

Pleimouth est l'endroit ou il y a le plus de François il y en peut avoir environ 300. On leur a donné un presche et un demy mille de la ville. Je parlay a tous ceux que je pus rencontrer et j'en allay chercher

plusieurs dans leurs maisons pour leur faire sçavoir ce que j'avois a leur dire, quoique presque tous me receussent fort mal. J'entray même dans un endroit ou je sçavois qu'il y en avoit plusieurs assemblez et ou estoit aussy un de ceux a qui j'avois desja parlé nommé Barbot, de la Rochelle, qui avec un de ses amys s'emporta fort contre moy de ce que je venois leur dire. Cela ne m'empescha point de dire a tous ceux qui estoient la que je n'avois point encore veus les mêmes choses que j'avois dit aux autres, la seule différence qu'il y eut est qu'estant pour lors connu de tout le monde je leur dis publiquement et ne fis plus de mystère. Ils goustèrent aussy peu que les autres tout ce que je leur pus dire, et ils ne pouvoient pas s'empescher de me parler avec du chagrin et du ressentiment contre moy a cause de ce que je venois leur dire. Ils alléguoient qu'ils s'estoient fait une extrême violence pour se mettre l'esprit et la conscience en repos qu'ils avoit abandonné pour cela ce qu'ils avoient de plus cher au monde et qu'ainsy il n'y avoit aucune apparence qu'ils allassent se remettre dans les embarras dont ils avoient eu tant de peine a se desgager. Ils alléguoient ensuite la suppression des Edits qui avoient este donnez en leur faveur et disoient qu'apres cela il ne pouvait plus y avoir rien d'assuré pour eux. Ils adjoustoient aussy qu'il ne leur estoit pas possible d'exercer leur Religion si ils n'avoient pas des presches et des ministres et que sans ce retablissement ils ne pouvoient voir aucunes seuretes en France pour eux et pour leurs enfans. Ce sont la les discours avec lesquels tous les gens de la R. P. R. éludent toutes les assurances qu'on leur propose ; auxquelles ils ne veulent point adjouster foy, et il y en a plusieurs qui disent que quand mesme ils seroient persuades qu'on les laissera vivre en France sans les inquieter ils n'y retourneroient pas si auparavant on ne leur accorderoit des presches et des ministres.

Je vis la entre plusieurs un nommé Mr Chales, marchand de la Rochelle, qui s'estoit converty luy et toute sa famille et qui s'estoit sauvé avec toute sa famille aprez s'estre converty, lesquels, mettoient ordre a leur affaires pour se retirer. Je ne pus rencontrer qu'un seul matelot avant que de me descouvrir, je sceus de luy qu'il y en avoit fort peu dans la ville et qu'il n'y en avoit que cinq qui se fussent encore embarques dans des vaisseaux anglais. Des que je me fus ouvert il me quitta tout d'un coup et s'enfuit. Je m'informay encore dans la ville si l'on y avoit veu plusieurs matelots François et on me dit qu'il y avoit passé environ 25 matelots qui estoient avec des Capitaines François de la R. P. R. qui s'estoient sauves dans leur propre bastimens et qui avoient touché a Pleimouth. On me dit aussy qu'il y passoit plusieurs François dans la Caroline et dans la Pinsilvanie.

A Dartmouth on me dit qu'il y avoit desbarqué douze ou quinze François lesquels avoient tous passé a Londres. Il y avoit encore deux ministres avec leur femmes et leur enfans. Je parlay a un de ces messieurs, n'ayant pas pu veoir aussy l'autre parce qu'il estoit malade. Il me dit que si cela estoit que Monsieur l'Ambassadeur de France luy donnast sa parole que retournant en France il y vivroit sans estre aucunement inquiété, ils y retourneroient volontiers, son camarade et luy, avec leur famille, et sur cela il me dit qu'il me manderait a Londres sa dernière resolution.

A Waymouth je ne trouvay qu'un François qui me temoigna que son plus grand bonheur seroit de revenir en France et d'y pouvoir vivre dans sa Religion, mais qu'il avoit des parents a Londres qu'il alloit trouver et dont il suivroit les exemples. Je voulus l'engager a prendre son party de



luy mesme, mais cela me fut impossible. On me dit qu'il n'avoit pas débarqué en ceste ville plus de sept on huit François.

Je ne trouvay aucuns François a Portsmouth ; on me dit qu'il y en avoit débarqué quelques uns, mais en fort petit nombre.

Fait a Londres le vj. janvier, 1686,

ROBERT.

No. 2.

DECLARATION BY WILLIAM AND MARY, 1689.

BY THE KING AND QUEEN.

A DECLARATION

For the Encouraging of French Protestants to transport themselves into this Kingdom.

WILLIAM R.

Whereas it hath pleased Almighty God to Deliver Our Realm of England and the Subjects thereof, from the Persecution lately threatening them for their Religion and from the Oppression and Destruction which the subversion of their Laws and the Arbitrary Exercise of Power and Dominion over them had very near Introduced ; We finding in Our Subjects a True and Just Sense hereof, and of the Miseries and Oppressions the French Protestants lye under ; For their Relief and to encourage them that shall be willing to Transport themselves, their Families and Estates, into this our Kingdom. We do hereby Declare, That all French Protestants that shall seek their Refuge in, and Transport themselves into this Our Kingdom, shall not only have Our Royal Protection for themselves, Families and Estates, within this Our Realm ; But We will also do Our Endeavour in all reasonable Ways and Means so to Support, Aid and Assist them in their several and respective Trades and Ways of Livelyhood, as that their living and being in this Realm may be comfortable and easie to them.

[Given at Our Court at Whitehall this twenty-fifth Day of April, 1689. In the first year of Our Reign.

GOD SAVE THE KING AND QUEEN.

No. 3.

"THE KINGS LETTER"

(CHARLES II.) 1681.

His Majesties Letters to the Bishop of London and the Lord Mayor.

*To the Right Reverend Father in God, Our Right Trusty and Well-beloved Counsellor, HENRY Bishop of London.*

CHARLES R.

Right Reverend Father in God, Our Right trusty and Well-beloved Counsellor, We greet you well. Whereas We are given to understand that a great number of Persons and whole Families of Protestants in the Kingdom of France have lately withdrawn themselves from thence

to avoid those hardships and extremities which are brought upon them there for the sake of their Religion, and have betaken themselves into this Our Kingdom as a place of refuge, where they may enjoy the liberty and security of their Persons and Consciences. And whereas most of them, if not all, having been forced to abandon their native abodes and accommodations in haste and confusion, must needs be in a great measure destitute of means for their present subsistence and relief. We being touched with a true sense and compassion of their deplorable condition, and looking upon them not only as distressed Strangers, but chiefly as persecuted Protestants, very desirous to extend Our Royal Favour, and protection towards them, not doubting but all Our good and loving Subjects will be also willing and forward on their parts to afford them what helps and comforts they can in this their day of Affliction. We do therefore in very especial manner recommend their case unto your pious consideration and care, hereby requiring you forthwith to give Directions unto all the Clergy of Our City of *London* and parts adjacent, that in their solemn Congregations upon the next Lords day, or as soon as may be possible, they represent the sad state of these poor People, and by the most effectual Arguments of Christian charity excite their Parishioners to contribute freely toward the supply of their necessities. We shall not need to press you in this behalf, well knowing your zeal in so good a work, which will be no less pleasing to Us, than We are sure it will be acceptable to Almighty God. And Our further pleasure is, that you take care that the moneys so collected (which We expect should be forthwith returned into your hands) be distributed in such manner as may best answer those ends, for which this collection is intended. And so We bid you heartily farewell.

Given at Our Court at *Windsor* the 22th day of *July*, 1681, in the Three and Thirtieth year of Our Reign.

By his Majesties Command,

L. JENKINS.

To Our Right Trusty and Well-beloved Sir PATIENCE WARD, Knight, Lord Mayor of Our City of *London*.

CHARLES R.

Right Trusty and Well-beloved We greet you well. Being given to understand that very many Protestants, and even whole Families, finding themselves under great pressures and persecutions in the Kingdom of *France* for the sake of their Religion, have chosen rather to leave their native Country and conveniences than to hazard the ruine of their Consciences, and therefore great numbers of them are come, and more are endeavouring every day to come into this Kingdom for Shelter and Security. We are very desirous that here they should not only meet with all kind reception, but also with that benevolence and charity which may in some reasonable measure contribute towards their present relief and comfort in this their Affliction. To which end We have signified Our pleasure to the Bishop of *London*, requiring him to give directions unto the Clergy of that Our City and places adjacent, to represent the sad condition of these poor People in their solemn Congregations, and also to excite their Parishioners to the free and chearful relief of their distressed Brethren. But as we cannot have too many hands employed in so good a work, so We have thought fit to recommend the same unto you also, that by your encouragement and endeavour Our good Subjects inhabiting in

that Our City may be induced and obliged to a more than ordinary demonstration of their compassion and liberality on this occasion. And so We bid you heartily farewell. Given at Our Court at *Windsor* the 22th day of *July*, 1681, in the Three and Thirtieth year of Our Reign.

By his Majesties Command,

L. JENKINS.

Printed by *S. Roycroft*, Printer to the Honourable City of  
LONDON, 1681.

No. 4.

BRIEF, 1681.

[MS. Rawl. C. 984, f. 43.]

Charles the Second, by the Grace of God, King of *England*, *Scotland*, *France*, and *Ireland*, Defender of the Faith, &c. To all and singular Archbishops, Bishops, Archdeacons, Deans and their Officials, Parsons, Vicars, Curates, and all other Spiritual Persons : And also to all Justices of the Peace, Mayors, Sheriffs, Bayliffs, Constables, Churchwardens, Chappelwardens, Headboroughs, Collectors for the Poor, and their Overseers : And also to all Officers of Cities, Boroughs, and Towns Corporate ; and to all other Our Officers, Ministers, and Subjects, whatsoever they be, as well within Liberties as without, to whom these presents shall come, Greeting.

Whereas the distressed Protestants of *France*, have by a Memorial represented unto Us the great Hardships and Persecutions, which are brought upon them for the sake of their Religion ; and great numbers of them have already betaken themselves into this Our Kingdom : and more are endeavouring every day to come hither, as a place of Refuge, where they may enjoy the Liberty and Security of their Persons and Consciences ; And whereas most of them must be in a great measure destitute of present Subsistence and Relief, being forced to abandon their Native Abodes, Estates, and Accomodations, in hast and confusion ; We being touched with a true sence and Compassion of their deplorable Condition, and looking upon them not only as distressed Strangers, but chiefly as Persecuted Protestants, are very desirous to extend our Royal Favour and Protection towards them ; Not doubting but all our Good and Loving Subjects will be also willing and forward on their parts, to afford them what helps and comforts they can, in this their day of Affliction.

Know ye therefore, That of Our especial Grace and Princely Compassion, and out of Our Pious Care and Zeal to preserve and protect the Protestant Religion, We have given and granted, and by these Our Letters Patents, under Our Great Seal of *England*, do give and grant unto the said distressed Protestants (which shall come and settle here in this Our Kingdom of *England*), and to their Agents or other Persons, who shall be lawfully Authorized on their behalf, full Power, License, and Authority, to ask, gather, receive, and take (according to the Rules hereafter specified in these Presents) the Alms and Charitable Benevolence of all Our loving Subjects, not only Housholders, but also Servants, Strangers, and others, Inhabiting within all and every the Counties, Cities, Boroughs, Towns Corporate, Priviledged Places, Parishes, Chappellries, Towns, Villages, Hamlets, and all other places whatsoever, in

Our Kingdom of *England*, Dominion of *Wales*, and Town of *Berwick* upon *Tweed*, for and towards the Relief of the said Poor Distressed and Persecuted Protestants.

Wherefore We Require and Command, all and singular the Archbishops, and Bishops, of all and singular the Provinces and Diocesses within Our Kingdom of *England*, and Dominion of *Wales*, (unto whose Paternal Care and Inspection we chiefly recommend the Pursuit of these Our Letters, Patents,) That they and every of them do give a particular Recommendation and Command to all the Parsons, Vicars, and Curates, of all and every the Parishes, and other places, as well within Liberties as without, within their Respective Diocesses for the Advancement of this so Pious a Work : And the said Parsons, Vicars and Curates, upon the next Lords day, after that the true Copies of these Our Letters Patents, shall be delivered to them, deliberately and effectually to publish and declare the Tenor of these Our Letters Patents unto Our said loving Subjects, and earnestly to exhort, perswade, and stir them up, to contribute freely and chearfully towards the Relief of their distressed Brethren : And the Churchwardens are also hereby Required upon the week days following the Lordsday, to go from house to house, to ask and receive from all the Parishioners, aswell Masters, and Mistresses, and Servants, as others in their Families, their Christian and Charitable Contributions, and to take the Name of all such as shall contribute thereunto, and the Sum or Sums by them given respectively, fairly written : And after such Collection made, they are in the presence of the respective Inhabitants on the next Lords day following to subscribe the whole Sums upon the said Briefs under their hands, and also to enter them into Books of Accompts for the said Parishes and Chappelries respectively, and the place where and the times when such Sums were collected. And they are also to deliver the same to the said Parsons, Vicars, or Curates, respectively, and the said Parsons, Vicars, or Curates, are to send the said Monies together with the said Briefs, unto their respective Archdeacons, and the said several Archdeacons to the respective Bishops of the several Diocesses, as herein after is declared and directed : And for the better performance of this so Pious and Charitable a Work, the said Parsons, Vicars, and Curates, respectively, are desired (where conveniently they may) to accompany the Churchwardens, in asking and receiving the Contributions, or procure some other of the Chief Inhabitants in the said Parishes respectively to do the same.

And Our Will and Pleasure is, and we do hereby for the better Advancement of these Our Pious Intentions, will, require and Command the Bishops, and all other Dignitaries of the Church, that they make their Contributions distinctly, to be returned in the several Provinces to the respective Archbishops of the same.

And also, that all Our loving Subjects of this Kingdom, of what Dignity, Degree or Quality soever, may manifest their Zeal in so good a Work : We do recommend it to all Heads and Governors of Colledges and Halls in both Our Universities, and also to the Judges and Officers, of all and every Our Respective Courts at *Westminster*, and the Professors of the Law, both Common and Civil, and to all Students of the several Inns of Court and Chancery by their several Bodies and Societies, that they and every of them, will Contribute their Free and Charitable Benevolence herein.

And lastly, Our Will and Pleasure is, and We do hereby recommend unto the Care and Circumspection of all and singular the Archbishops and

Bishops of the said respective Provinces and Diocesses, That it be so ordered, that the Collection and Return of the said Monies may be with the most ease and without Charge, or any deductions to be made out of the said Contributions Collected for the same : And also that the Churchwardens of every Parish where these Our Letters Patents shall be read, do Collect the Charity of each Parishioner in manner as aforesaid, and do pay the same within ten days unto the Parson, Vicar, or Curate, of their respective Parishes ; Which said respective Parson, Vicar, or Curate, shall within ten days next after his Receipt of the said Monies, make return thereof to his respective Archdeacon ; And where there is no Incumbent, That the Collector or Collectors pay the said Money to the respective Archdeacon ; And that the Archdeacons of the several Archdeaconaries, do likewise return the said Collections within twenty days next after their Receipt thereof unto the Bishops of their respective Diocesses ; And that the said Bishops do return it within thirty days then next into the Chamber of Our City of *London*, from whence We do hereby Authorize and appoint the Most Reverend Father in God, the Lord Archbishop of *Canterbury* for the time being, the Right Reverend Father in God, the Lord Bishop of *London* for the time being, and the Lord Mayor of the City of *London* for the time being, or any two of them, to dispose and distribute the same in such manner as may best answer those ends, for which these Letters Patents were intended.

And We do hereby direct, require and command, That the said several Archdeacons, shall and do make return unto the said Lord Archbishop of *Canterbury*, the Lord Bishop of *London*, and the Lord Mayor of *London*, of what Sums they have received, at the time when they shall pay them to the Bishops, and that all their Respective Accounts be stated in Words at length and not in Figures only, and subscribed with their own hands : Any Law, Statute, Act, Ordinance, or Provision, heretofore made to the contrary hereof in any wise notwithstanding. In witness whereof, We have caused these Our Letters to be made Patents, for the space of two whole Years next after the Date hereof, to endure and no longer. Witness Our Self at *Westminster* the Tenth day of *September*, and in the Three and Thirtieth Year of Our Reign.

FALL.

GOD SAVE THE KING.

London, Printed by Anne Godbid, and John Playford, dwelling in Little-Britain, 1681.

No. 5.

## PAPERS RELATING TO BRIEF, 1681.

The first is a letter from the Archbishop of Canterbury.

The second is a draft letter to the Archdeacons.

The third and fourth letters refer to the collection.

The final paper was printed and would appear to have been sent to the clergy to assist them in preparing their sermons.

[MS. Tanner 36, f. 153.]

*Salutem in Christo.*

RIGHT HONOURABLE AND RIGHT REVEREND MY VERY GOOD BROTHER.

His Majesty, out of his tender Commiseration of y<sup>e</sup> sad and distressed Condition of diuers forain protestants, who by y<sup>e</sup> barbarous

Rigours and severities us'd towards them at home, upon y<sup>e</sup> Account of their Religion only, have been forced to abandon their native Countrey, and thereupon chosen to put them under his Majestie's roial protection, was graciously pleas'd, amongst many other Instances of his extraordinary Favour towards them, to cause his letters patent, dated September 10th last past, to be issued under y<sup>e</sup> great Seal of England, for a generall Collection to be made of the Alms of all well-disposed persons for Relief of such of y<sup>e</sup> said protestants who should come and settle here, and stand in need of the same. And in farther pursuance of this pious Design, y<sup>e</sup> Lords and others of his Majestie's most honourable privy Council, upon Information given them that great Numbers of such poor protestants were already come and do daily arrive here, who, not being permitted to bring over their Estates with them, are reduc'd to a very necessitous and miserable condition, have, by their letters to me directed and but now receiv'd, earnestly recommended it to my care to write effectually to y<sup>e</sup> several Bishops within this my province, y<sup>t</sup> they would, upon this great Occasion, use their utmost Endeavours to promote and encourage y<sup>e</sup> charitable contributions of all persons of Ability within their respective Dioceses; and that, aswell by y<sup>e</sup> example of their own more than usual Bountie, as also by strictly enjoining their Clergy euery where, by all good motives [and] means, to exhort and stir up their parishioners freely and chearfully to extend y<sup>e</sup> Bowels of their Compassion to these their poor Brethren, and to remember those who, for Righteousness sake, suffer so great Adversity as being themselves also in y<sup>e</sup> Body. All which I have thus at large recounted, not so much to remind your Lordship of it (who know it as well as I, and forget not what may make so much for y<sup>e</sup> Glory of God in promoting y<sup>e</sup> Interests of y<sup>e</sup> true Religion) as that y<sup>e</sup> Notice hereof may thro your Hands be speedily conveigh'd to all our Brethren y<sup>e</sup> Bishops of y<sup>e</sup> province, who will I trust express y<sup>e</sup> same Zeal in so good a Matter. For while his sacred Majesty by this glorious Instance proves himself indeed y<sup>e</sup> true Defender of y<sup>e</sup> Faith, while the Council, y<sup>e</sup> Citie, y<sup>e</sup> whole Nation, nay, whole Christendom (all but y<sup>e</sup> corrupt, incorrigible parts of it) seem to strive, who should most deeply resent y<sup>e</sup> sufferings and most chearfully supply y<sup>e</sup> wants of these poor persecuted Christians, the Clergy of y<sup>e</sup> Church of England will, I doubt not, appear amongst y<sup>e</sup> warmest and y<sup>e</sup> forwardest, as being most nearly concerned for y<sup>e</sup> great and . . . (!) dearest Interest, y<sup>t</sup> of y<sup>e</sup> true reform'd protestant Religion, especially at such a juncture as this, when our cruel and implacable Enemies euerywhere seem confederate together utterly to destroy us, and to leave us neither Root nor Branch, neither Name nor Memorial upon y<sup>e</sup> Earth. Our good God will, I trust, ever preserve us from so dismal a . . . (!) for his Name's sake; and also long preserve your good Lordship for y<sup>e</sup> service of his Church, as I heartily pray, who am, My Lord, with all sincerity,

Your Lordship's most affectionate Friend and Brother.

LAMBETH HOUSE, Oct. 29, 1681.

[MS. Tanner 36, f. 152.]

M<sup>r</sup> ARCH-DEACON,

His Majestie, out of his tender Commiseration to y<sup>e</sup> distressed condition of diuers forain Protestants, who by the hard usage they find at home upon account of their Religion only, haue been forc'd to forsake their native Countrey and chosen to put themselves under his Majestie's Royal Protection, hath been graciously pleas'd to grant his

Letters patent under the great Seal of England (340 Copies whereof you will herewith receive) for a general Collection to be made for the relief of such of the said Protestants who should come and settle here and need the same. And the Lords of the privy council have by their Letter recommended it to my care to write effectually into all ye Dioceses within this Province to the same purpose, as I do now to yow, Mr Arch-Deacon, namely, that upon this great occasion you use your utmost endeavors to promote and encourage the charitable contributions of all persons of abilitie within your Jurisdiction, and that aswell by the example of your owne more then usuall Liberalitie, as also by strictly enioining the Clergie everywhere within your Limits, by all good means and motives, to stir up their Parishioners freely and cheerfully to extend ye bowells of their compassion to these their poore persecuted Brethren, and to remember those who for Righteousnes sake suffer so great Aduersity, as being themselves also in the Body. And so hoping to have a good account of your ready compliance and diligent Obedience to this his Majestie's most pious and Charitable Designe, I remaine,

Your Loving friend.

[MS. Tanner 35, f. 124.]

Nov: 2. 1682.

MY LORD,

It is so long since ye encouragement of his Majestie's Brief has given us hopes of a full return of yt Charity on behalf of those poor persecuted Protestants of France, who have hitherto subsisted by it: yt ye want of returns from several Diocesses, has in a great measure discourag'd ye hopes yt might justly have bin entertain'd for their relief: & ye answering ye good and gracious intentions ye King had to support those of his own persuasion in so common and extreme a Calamity. I am therefore oblig'd by ye entreaty of those who are joyn'd with me, with all earnestness to beseech you, for mercy's sake to poor souls, dayly perishing for want, to quicken and compleat ye Collection: yt it may answer ye good intention it was design'd for. And I beg your speedy answer to

My Lord,

Your Lordship's faithfull servant and Brother,

H. LONDON.

[Endorsed:] Bishop London and French Protestants.

[MS. Tanner 34, f. 104.]

MY LORD,

Wee have formerly Troubled your Lordship in the behalfe of the distressed French Protestants, but as yet noe Returns having been made out of your Lordship's Diocess, Wee find our Selves obliged very Earnestly to press your Lordship for a speedy Returne of the Collections into the Chamber of London, The money which has been paid in from other Diocesses being now wholly disposed of for their Reliefe, Wee Begge your Compassionate sense of the Extreame Necessitous Condition of these Afflicted Protestants (who still come over in great Numbers), and Re-

My Lord,

Your Lordship's very humble Servants,

WM. PRITCHARD, major.

H. LONDON.

LONDON, August 4th, 1683.

[Endorsed:] Bishop of London concerning French Protestants, Aug: 4. 1683.



## AN ABSTRACT OF THE PRESENT STATE OF THE PROTESTANTS IN FRANCE.

His Majesty having earnestly recommended the calamitous condition of the French Protestants, to the Charity of his Subjects; it will be reasonable that some account should be given of the Persecution and Severities used towards those unhappy People, which have driven them from their Estates and Country, and caused them in so great numbers to seek for refuge amongst Strangers.

The aforesaid pressures are of two sorts; one from the *iniquity of the Laws*, the other from the *violence of Men*.

As to the first, Whereas the Protestants of France, as a reward for their eminent Services to the Government and Crown; were supported by the memorable *Edict of Nantes* bearing date April, 1598, ratified thro the succession of several Kings, and in particular by him who now reigns: yet of late without any pretence of forfeiture, or ill demerit on their part, they have been subjected to many severities directly contrary to the concessions of the said Edict; and indeed that humanity which is due to all Men, even from Heathen Strangers, and professed Enemies.

An instance whereof will be first, the Edict of Feb. 28, 1680, whereby, in imitation of the Egyptians dealing with the Israelites, it is ordered, that *Protestant Women shall not be delivered in Child-birth but by Midwives and Surgeons who are Papists*; and they are commanded to *Baptize the Children new born*, who are thenceforth esteemed to be members of the Church of Rome, and if when they come to age they shall profess the Protestant Religion, will be liable to be punisht as Apostates, and their Parents obnoxious for perverting them.

2<sup>ly</sup>. The Edict of June 17, 1681, whereby it is ordered that the children of Protestants shall be admitted to abjure the Religion of their Parents as soon as they shall attain the age of seven years: And it is then put into the choice of the children whether they will continue with them, and be there maintain'd with large allowances such as the Papist Magistrate shall appoint; or have the like provision made at the charge of the Parents elsewhere. By which offer of licence the Children are not only encourag'd to disobedience and debauchery; but rendred the Masters, nay Persecutors of their Parents.

3<sup>ly</sup>. The Edict of Novem. 19, 1680, which ordains that when any Protestant shall happen to be sick, he shall suffer himself to be visited by the Papist Officers and Priests; who at their coming remove from him his Friends, Relations and Attendants, and among themselves interrogate him according to their pleasure; and his answers are usually interpreted to be a reconciliation of himself to Popery, and an abjuring of the Protestant Religion: So that if he die, the Family are esteem'd the children of a *Papist Father*, and so to be bred in that Religion: If he survives and continues in the Protestant Religion, he is to be treated as a *relapsed Heretic*.

4<sup>ly</sup>. The Edicts of July 9 and 31, 1681, which restrain the Protestants from having Schoolmasters to teach their Children who are of their Religion, more than *hearty to Write and Read*; and only one is allowed in a whole City: and besides this they only may teach who are *licenc'd by Papist Officers*: whereby also their Universities are suppress: which was the very course formerly taken by Julian the Apostate for the extirpating of Christianity; And was the method of the Ammonites, to put out the right eyes of the Israelites as a reproach upon them.

5<sup>ly</sup>. The Edicts of Novem. 6, 1679, Jan. 11, Aug. 17, 1680, and June 28, 1681, which order the turning of Protestants out of civil and



*military employments, and the disabling trades-men from keeping shops or exercising their Professions. Which is in effect to command them and their families to steal or be starv'd.*

6ly. The Edict of Nov. 19, 1680, which *Grants to all Protestants who change their Religion, a respite for three years of paying their debts, laying a prohibition upon their creditors to bring any action against them : Which as it is a violent temptation to ill men to change their Religion, so it absolutely ruins the credit of others, who are no longer trusted, the creditor being insecure of being paid.*

7ly. The Edict of June, 1680, which orders that *no subject of France of what quality, condition, age or sex soever, now making profession of the Roman Religion ; may ever forsake it to go over to the Reformed, for what cause, reason, pretence, or consideration soever : And whosoever shall act to the contrary shall be condemned to make Amende-honourable, to perpetual banishment, and confiscation of goods. Likewise all Ministers of the Reform'd Religion are forbid to receive any Proselyte coming to them from Popery, or suffer in their Churches or Assemblies any such, under penalty that the Minister shall be depriv'd from ever exercising his function, and of the suppression of the Place or Church for ever after. Upon which pretence, and others as unreasonable (for how is it possible for any Congregation to provide that no person formerly of another perswasion, should come among them :) an almost infinite number of Churches have bin demolish'd. They are the words of the provincial Assembly of the province of Papists, held in the months of March and May, 1681, alledg'd as a testimony of the piety of the King. So that at this present, the Protestants are fain to go to many places 30 or 40 Miles. to get their Children Baptiz'd, or perform any public act of religious worship. And if it happen in case of carrying Children to be Baptiz'd, that the Papist midwife hath done that office before, then the Parent is accused as Sacrilegious : and of rebaptizing a Catholic Infant into heresie.*

8ly. But since mention is made of *Amende-honourable*, as a part of the punishment of a convert to the reformed Religion, it may not be amiss to give some account of it.

9ly. The person condemn'd to this punishment is to go into some public place in his Shirt, with a Torch in his hand, and a Rope about his neck, followed by the common Hangman ; and in this equipage, as if he were a most Infamous Malefactor, he is to ask pardon of God, the King and Justice for what he has done. That is for leaving a Religion which he believed to be Heretical, and Idolatrous ; and for imbracing the truth, and desiring to save his soul, he is to be made a spectacle to God, Angels, and Men.

10ly. But over and above all this *severity of the Laws* ; there is added, the *cruelty of Magistrates, and violence of Souldiers.* Against a protestant, any accusation is greedily received, and severely prosecuted ; and if after long vexation, expence and imprisonment, the innocence of the Person accus'd shall be so manifest as not to be dissembled, he can hope for no reparation against the Papist false accuser.

11ly. Nor is the condition of the Protestants in *civil causes* better than in *criminal.* If any Protestant sues a Papist for the Interest of an estate, or debt : or complains of being over-rated in Taxes ; whereas he should be heard in several parts of France, according to the Edict of *Nantes* ; by *Chambres Miparties*, where are Counsellors and Judges who are Protestants as well as Papists ; now they are entirely exposed to their mortal and profest enemies, and what the success of such trials is likely to be, twill be needless to declare.

12<sup>ly</sup>. But as if this hardship were not enough ; in those countries where Protestants most abound, Souldiers are sent among them to live at free quarter, call'd by them *descretion*, and do that execution and barbarity, which they have practised among conquer'd enemies. Where what they cannot devour, or make advantage of by sale, they spoil and trample under feet : Beat with cudgels the men, clap swords and pistols to their breasts ; abuse and ravish the women : and when they have pillagd their houses, tie the Possessors to their horse tails, and drag them to Mass : where having thrown holy water into their faces, they say they are Catholics ; and if they disown it, shall be proceeded against as Relapst.

13<sup>ly</sup>. When Persons weary of this usage, attempt to fly into foreign parts, being discover'd they are clapt into prisons and dungeons, there to be starv'd to death, or perish by noisome Diseases : And those miserable Persons who unable to bear these Extremities renounce their Religion, are at the same time forc'd to give it under their hands that they have abjured *without constraint, and of their own free choice*. And all this usage is still pretended to be, *gentle and innocent means made use of, to bring Heretics to the bosome of the Church, becoming the bounty and goodness of the King, and conformable to the mind of the Divine Pastor, who always retains bowels of mercy for these strayed Sheep ; and wills they should be brought back, and not hunted away, because he desires their Salvation and regrets their loss. Which conduct is very far from the rigor wherewith the Catholiks are treated in the Neighbouring Kingdoms which are infected with Heresy ; by which it appears, what difference there is between Reason and Passion, between the meekness of Truth, the rage of Imposture, between the Zeal of the House of God, and the fury of Babylon*. They are the words of the Bishop of Claudiopolis, to the King, in the head of the Deputies of the Clergy of France, and are intended as a reproach to the People of England and the Government thereof.

And may not now the desolate Church of France take up her Lamentation and say ! *Is it nothing to you all ye that pass by, behold and see, if there be any Sorrow which is done unto me, wherewith the Lord hath afflicted me, in the day of his fierce anger.* Lam. I. 12.

But Blessed are the Merciful for they shall obtain Mercy. Matth. 5, 7.

Let Brotherly love continue. Be not forgetful to entertain Strangers : for thereby some have entertain'd Angels unawares. Remember them that are in bonds, as bound with them, and them which suffer adversity, as being your selves in the body. Heb. 13, 1, 2, 3.

When the Son of Man shall come in his Glory and all the Holy Angels with him, then shall he sit upon the Throne of his Glory. And before him shall be gather'd all Nations, and he shall separate them one from another, as a Shepherd divideth the Sheep from the Goats ; and he shall set the Sheep on his Right Hand, but the Goats on his Left. Then shall the King say unto them on his Right Hand, *Come ye Blessed of my Father inherit the Kingdom prepared for you from the Foundation of the World. For I was an hungred and ye gave me Meat, I was thirsty and ye gave me Drink : I was a Stranger and ye took me in : Naked and ye clothed me : I was sick and ye visited me, I was in Prison and ye came unto me, &c.* Matth. 25, 31, &c.

London. Printed for John Whitlock, 1682.

[British Museum, 1855, c. 4 (74).]

## No. 6.

## BRIEF 1685-6.

It has been impossible to find a copy of this Brief, but Baron Ferd. de Schikler has reprinted a contemporary French translation of it; from which the following has been prepared, this has been rendered comparatively easy because the wording was followed almost entirely in that issued in 1688. There was, however, one important alteration. By this Brief the Refugees were required to live in "entire conformity and orderly submission to our Government both in Church and State". This clause was interpreted as meaning that the Refugees must take the Sacrament according to the usages of the English Established Church, consequently many, rather than conform, left the country. In 1688 the words "both in Church and State" were omitted. This together with the Declaration of Indulgence issued in 1687 enabled the Refugees to follow their accustomed worship according to the rule of the French Reformed Church.

## BRIEF 1685.

James the Second, By the Grace of God, King of England, Scotland, France And Ireland, Defender of the Faith, &c. To all and Singular Archbishops, Bishops, Archdeacons, Deans, and their Officials, Parsons, Vicars, Curates, and all other Spiritual Persons: And also to all Justices of the Peace, Mayors, Sheriffs, Bayliffs, Constables, Churchwardens, Chappelwardens, Headboroughs, Collectors for the Poor, and their Overseers: And also to all Officers of Cities, Boroughs, and Towns Corporate, and to all other Our Officers, Ministers and Subjects whatsoever they be, as well within Liberties as without, to whom these Presents shall come. Greeting.

Whereas it is the highest Prerogative, and most desirable Advantage of Kings and Sovereign Princes, to have it in Their Power and Will to do Acts of Public Clemency and Beneficence; And since nothing makes Them more to resemble the Great God of Heaven, from whom only They derive Their Authority, than to imitate the Divine Goodness in the Works of Universal Mercy and Compassion: We being informed, that great Numbers of French Protestants have lately taken Refuge in this, and Our other Kingdoms, whereof divers being Persons of good Birth and Quality, having formerly lived in Plenty and Prosperity, are now reduced to extreme Wants and Necessities; And many others that are bred up and well skilled in useful Crafts and Mysteries are, by reason of their present Poverties and Distresses, utterly disabled, as yet, to exercise the same, either for the Support of themselves and their Families, or for the publick Benefit of this Our Kingdom: We have thought Our Selves obliged by the Laws of Christian Charity, and common Bonds of Humanity, to take their deplorable Condition into Our tender Care and Princely Compassion. And to this end We have resolved to receive into Our Gracious Protection as many of them as shall live in entire Conformity and orderly Submission to Our Government both in Church and State. And besides other Testimonies of Our Royal Pity and Bounty towards them, We have condescended to Grant them these Our Letters Patents under Our Great Seal of England, to License and Authorize them to Ask and Receive the Alms and Charitable Contributions of all Our loving Subjects within Our Kingdom of England, Dominion of Wales, and Town of Berwick upon

Tweed : Being very desirous that they should not only find all kind Reception here, but also that Benevolence and Charity which We doubt not all Our loving subjects will, in a bountiful manner, contribute toward their present Relief and Comfort in this their Affliction.

Know ye therefore, That of Our Especial Grace and Royal Compassion, We have Given and Granted, and by these Our Letters Patents under Our Great Seal of England, do Give and Grant unto the said distressed Protestants, and to their Agents, who shall be lawfully Authorized on their behalf, full Power, License, and Authority, to Ask, Gather, Receive and Take (according to the Rules specified in these Presents) the Alms and Charitable Benevolence of all Our loving Subjects, not only Householders, but Servants, Strangers and Others, within all and every the Counties, Cities, Boroughs, Towns Corporate, Priviledged Places, Parishes, Chapelries, Towns, Villages, Hamlets, and all other places whatsoever in Our Kingdom of England, Dominion of Wales, and Town of Berwick upon Tweed.

Wherefore, We Require and Command all and singular the Archbishops and Bishops of all the Provinces and Diocesses within Our Kingdom of England and Dominion of Wales, (unto whose Paternal Care and Inspection We chiefly recommend the pursuit of these Our Letters Patents,) That they, and every of them, do give a particular Recommendation and Command to all the Parsons, Vicars and Curates of all and every the Parishes, and other places, as well within Liberties as without, within their respective Diocesses, for the Advancement of this so pious and charitable a Work. And the said Parsons, Vicars and Curates, upon the first Lords-Day, or second at farthest, after that the true Copies of these Our Letters Patents shall be delivered to them, shall deliberately and affectionately publish and declare the Tenor of the same to all Our said loving Subjects ; and earnestly persuade, exhort and stir them up, to contribute freely and chearfully towards the Relief of these distressed Christians, by such Motives and Inducements only as in these Our Letters Patents are contained. And the Churchwardens are also hereby required upon the Week-days next following the said Lords-Day, to go from House to House, to Ask and Receive from all the Parishioners, as well Masters, Mistresses and Servants, as others in their Families, their Christian and Charitable Contributions, and to take the Names in Writing of all such as shall Contribute thereunto, and the Sum or Sums by them respectively given. And after such Collection made, they are, in the presence of the respective Inhabitants on the next Lords-Day following, to subscribe the whole Sums upon the said Briefs, under their Hands, and also to enter them into Books of Accompts, for the said Parishes and Chapelries respectively, and the Places where, and the Times when, such Sums were Collected : And they are also to deliver the same to the said Parsons, Vicars and Curates respectively, and the said Parsons, Vicars and Curates are to send the said Moneys, together with the said Briefs, unto their respective Archdeacons : Or if the Parish be exempt, to the Archdeacon within the compass of whose Archdeaconry the said Parish lies ; And the said several Archdeacons unto the Bishops of their respective Diocesses, as is hereafter declared and directed. And for the better performance of this so pious and charitable a Work, the said Parsons, Vicars and Curates respectively are required (where conveniently they may) to accompany the Churchwardens in Asking and Receiving the Contributions, or procure some others of the chief of the Inhabitants in the said Parishes respectively to do the same.

And Our further Will and Pleasure is, and We do hereby, for the better Advancement of these Our pious Intentions, Will, Require and Command the Bishops, and all other Dignitaries of the Church, That they make their Contributions distinctly to be returned in the several Provinces to the respective Archbishops of the same. And also that all Our loyal Subjects of this Kingdom, of what Dignity, Degree or Quality soever, manifest their Zeal in so good a Work, We do Recommend it to all Heads and Governors of Colleges and Halls in both Our Universities, and also to the Judges and Officers of all and every Our respective Courts at Westminster, and the Professors of the Law, both Common and Civil, and to all Students of the several Inns of Court and Chancery, by their several Bodies and Societies, That they, and every of them, will Contribute their free and charitable Benevolence herein.

And lastly, Our Will and Pleasure is, That the Churchwardens of every Parish, where these Our Letters Patents shall be read, do Collect the Charity of each Parishioner in manner aforesaid, and do pay the same within ten days unto the Parson, Vicar or Curate of their respective Parishes; which said Parson, Vicar or Curate, shall, within ten days next after the Receipt of the said Money, make return thereof, together with the printed Briefs, to his respective Archdeacon as aforesaid: And where there is no Incumbent, the Collector or Collectors shall pay the said Money to the respective Archdeacon: And that the Archdeacons of the several Archdeaconries do likewise return the said Collections within twenty days next following to the Bishops of the Several Diocesses, and the said Bishops within thirty days next following shall remit the said Sums unto the Chamber of Our City of London: From whence We do hereby Authorize, Nominate and Appoint the most Reverend Father in God, the Lord Archbishop of Canterbury, the Lord High Chancellor of England, the Lord President of Our Council, the Lord Privy Seal, the Duke of Ormond, the Duke of Beaufort, the Lord Chamberlain, the Earl of Huntington, the Earl of Bridgwater, the Earl of Craven, the Earl of Berkley, the Earl of Nottingham, the Earl of Plymouth, the Earl of Middleton, the Lord Viscount Fauconberge, the Right Reverend Fathers in God the Bishop of London, the Bishop of Durham, the Bishop of Winchester, the Bishop of Ely, the Bishop of Gloucester, the Bishop of Peterborough, the Lord Preston, the Lord Dartmouth, the Lord Godolphin, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, the Lord Chief Justice Herbert, the Lord Chief Justice Jones, the Lord Chief Baron Montagu, Sir Job Charleton, Sir Francis Wythens, Sir Robert Wright, Our Attorney General and Our Solicitor General, the Lord Mayor of London for the time being, Sir William Turner, Sir William Pritchard, Sir Robert Geffery, Sir John Holt, Sir William Goshling, Sir Peter Vandeput, Sir John Bulkworth, Sir John Mathews, Alderman Charles Duncombe, John Gefferys Esquire, the Dean of St. Pauls, the Dean of Canterbury, the Dean of Norwich, the Dean of Windsor, the Dean of Worcester, the Dean of St. Asaph, Doctor John Horden, Doctor Geffreys, Doctor Scott, Doctor Cave, Sir Thomas Exton, Doctor Raines, Doctor Edisbury, Samuel Pepys, William Bridgman, and William Blathwaite Esquires, and they, or any five or more of them, are to dispose and distribute the Money which shall be Collected by Virtue hereof, in such manner as may best answer those Ends for which these Letters Patents were intended. And We do hereby Direct and Command, That the said several Archdeacons shall and do make Returns unto the Lord Archbishop of Canterbury, of what sums they have received, at the time when they shall pay the same unto the said Bishops: And that their

respective Accompts be stated in Words at length, and not in Figures only, and subscribed with their own Hands; Any Law, Statute, Act, Ordinance or Provision heretofore made to the contrary hereof in any wise notwithstanding. In witness whereof, We have caused these Our Letters to be made Patents, and to continue for one whole Year from the Date hereof, and no longer. Witness Our Self at Westminster, the fifth day of March, in the second Year of Our Reign.

GOD SAVE THE KING.

FALL.

No. 7.

PAPERS RELATING TO BRIEF 1685-6.

The first paper is taken from the original draft of the letter to the clergy which was to be sent with the copies of the Brief. It is in Archbishop Sancroft's handwriting. The words printed in italics within brackets were omitted in the final copy; this will shew how carefully everything was taken out which was at all likely to give any offence to the French King.

[MS. Tanner, 36 (f. 154).]

Whereas great Numbers of forain protestants are already come and do still (*daily*) arrive in this Kingdom, who, (*by Reason of the great Rigours and Severities us'd toward them at home, upon y<sup>e</sup> Account of their Religion, have been forc'd to*) abandon their native Country, with all y<sup>e</sup> Comforts and Advantages thereof, and have *thereupon* chosen to put themselves under his Majestie's Roial protection, the greatest part whereof, (*not being permitted to bring over their Estates with them*), are reduced to very great Exigencies and Necessities: His most gracious Majesty, out of his tender Compassion of their sad and distressed Condition, hath been graciously pleas'd (amongst other Instances of his Favour toward them) to cause his Letters patent, dated . . . [*sic*] last past, to be issued under his great Seal, for a general Collection to be made of y<sup>e</sup> Alms of Charitable and well-disposed persons all England over, for y<sup>e</sup> Relief of such of y<sup>e</sup> said protestants as do stand in Need of y<sup>e</sup> same, and do also qualify themselves for it, by living in full Submission and Conformity to y<sup>e</sup> Government here establish'd both in Church and State. And in farther pursuance of so pious a Design, his Majesty hath in his *said* Letters patent earnestly recommended it to y<sup>e</sup> Care of y<sup>e</sup> Archbishops and Bishops y<sup>t</sup> they would upon this great Occasion use their utmost Endeavours to encourage and promote y<sup>e</sup> charitable Contributions of all persons of Ability within their respective Dioceses; and that aswell by y<sup>e</sup> Example of their own more than usual Bountie, as also by strictly enjoining their Clergy everywhere to exhort and stir up their parishioners, freely and chearfully to extend y<sup>e</sup> Bowels of their Compassion to y<sup>e</sup> Relief of these poor distressed Christians: And this they are to doe by such Motives and Inducements only as in y<sup>e</sup> said Letters patent, (*and in this present Order*), are contained, (*briefly and more largely discours'd of in and*) to this purpose y<sup>e</sup> Sermon of Alms-deeds and Mercifullness towards y<sup>e</sup> poor and Needy, set forth by Aucturity in the Book of Homilies (*Which Sermon*) is (*therefore*) to be read in every parish Church and Chapell on y<sup>e</sup> Day when his Majestie's said Letters patent shall be published, in stead of y<sup>e</sup> Sermon for y<sup>t</sup> Day; or else a Sermon upon the same Argument is to be then preached by Him that officiates



there. And for y<sup>e</sup> better Notice hereof, it is his Majestie's Roial Will and pleasure that this Order being forthwith printed, y<sup>e</sup> copies thereof be transmitted (together with y<sup>e</sup> printed Copies of his Majesties said Letters patent) to all Bishops in both y<sup>e</sup> provinces in their several proportions, and be by them distributed to y<sup>e</sup> Incumbents of every parish within their Dioceses respectively; to y<sup>e</sup> End that All may take Notice of his Majestie's pleasure herein, and govern themselves accordingly.

[MS. Tanner 31, f. 283.]

(Letter relating to Draft Brief.)

Haveing Received in January last, An order made by his Majestie in Councill, with my Lord chancellor's Warrant Annexed, to prepare Letters Patents for a Colleccion Towards the Reliefe of some French Protestants: In Obedience therevnto, And in discharge of the Duty of my office, I did prepare a draught thereof; In doeing Whereof I tooke all Imaginable Care (as I thought) and Advised with Severall persons, to Avoid Giving any offence, But not being satisfied, I went to my Lord Bishop of Londons house, but he not being at home, I attended his Grace the Lord Arch-Bishop of Canterbury with the Draught, And humbly Beg'd the Favour of his Grace to peruse it, To which he Condescended. Afterwards I went to my Lord Chancellors house, and told Mr Harris what I had don, and gaue him the same draught, And desired him to shew it to my Lord Chancellor For his Lordship's Approbacion, He went up Staires with it, And after some Considerable stay, brought y<sup>e</sup> Draught downe againe, And said my Lord Chancellor would not giue himselfe the trouble to Read it, And then told me I might proceed to Ingrosse it, which I Caused to be don in a day or two, And then left it with Mr Harris's Clerke, to be Sealed, when my Lord Chancellor pleased.

In the meane time, as I alwayes doe in Cases of the like Nature, I Carried the Draught thereof to the Printer to Compose, soe y<sup>t</sup> It might be ready to print, assoone as the Patent should be sealed; The Printer after some dayes haueing Composed it, tooke of two or three proofs for me to Correct, But soone after I was Inform'd, by Mr Harris, that y<sup>e</sup> Patent was not sealed And that some Alterations must be made; soe I desisted from doeing any thing further; Till about A weeke after some French men Came to me, And said that his Grace my Lord Arch-Bishop of Canterbury desired a printed Coppy. Whereupon I went purposely to the Printer, And tooke of foure Coppies, All of which I Carryed to his Grace, But he kept but one of them. About the 16<sup>th</sup> of February Mr Harris sent a Porter to me, to bring a draught of the Breife to my Lord Chancellor presently, For he would Carry it to Bolstrode, and there Consider of the Alterations, I haueing mislayd the draught, And my Lord being Just ready to goe out of Towne, I very Innocently Carryed One of the Printed Coppies to Mr Harris For his Lordships vse, And these above Mentioned, are all the Copies (that to my knowledge were printed or delivered to any person whatsoever; Except One of the first proofs to Monsieur Le Fey, But whether I had Corrected it or noe I know not, for he was the only Agent with me for these french people and promised to returne that Prooffe againe, But did not). This is the true State of this vnhappy Businesse.

After what hath happened I am heartily sorry for the Inconuenience that hath proceeded from it, And I doe humbly aske my Lord of Canterbury his Grace, pardon, and am Willing to make his Grace any Acknowledgment. I doe verily Believe that my Lord of Canterbury did

looke upon me as one that Came from my Lord Chancellor, with the draught for his Graces Approbation, and perhaps if I had heedfully observ'd, what his Grace then said to me, I might haue found that to haue been his Meaning, And I alsoe Beleive by what I haue learnt since, that my Lord of Canterbury, After he had knowledge from the Frenchmen that there was a prooffe printed, he only desired that he might see it privately.

WM FALLS.

27<sup>o</sup> Febr. 168<sup>5</sup><sub>6</sub>

[Endorsed.] French.

[MS. Tanner 31, f. 279.]

ORDER IN COUNCIL, 6 Nov., 1685.

Upon reading the Petition of the Ministers and Churchwardens of the French Church in the Savoye, . . . His Majesty was pleased . . . to order . . . that the Rt Hon<sup>ble</sup> the Lord Jeffrys, . . . do cause a Breife to be prepared for a General Collection. . . . His Majesty's intention being that the same shall be for the releife of such as shall appeare to be conformable to the Church of England.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR GRACE,

In humble obedience to his Majestie's Commands, I have prepared a Breife for the French Protestants, as near as I could according to his Majesties Royall Intencions, the draught whereof is herewith sent for your Graces perusall and coreccion. Your Grace will therewith also find the circulary Letter, your Grace design'd, which I have presum'd a little to vary from, to humour the Letters Patents, and to obviate the inconveniencies his Majestie apprehends may attend his Service by any though but seeming, Refleccions, I begg your Graces Pardon for this Presumption, and entirely submitt my selfe to your Graces Disposall; not doubting your Graces Protection, as long as I shall approve my selfe to be, what I really am, a True Sonn of the Church of England and

May it please your Grace,

Your most Dutifull and entirely Devoted Servant,

JEFFREYS C.

1<sup>o</sup> Marcij, 168<sup>5</sup><sub>6</sub>

[MS. Tanner 30, f. 184.]

London y<sup>e</sup> 8<sup>th</sup> febr 168<sup>6</sup><sub>7</sub>

MY LORD,

Your Lordship is earnestly desired to send Your Orders to the severall Arch-Deacons in Your Diocess to return Duplicates to Your Lordship of the Money Collected in the severall Parishes within their Arch-Deaconrys Upon his Majesty's Letters Pattents, granted for Relief of the distressed french Protestants, And as directed by y<sup>e</sup> said Letters Pattents, to Return the said Duplicates to his Grace the Lord Arch-Bishop of Canterbury with all Expedition possible the time being so near Expiring, And to give us Your intimations what the Collections do amount to, that wee may Compare them with the Payments made into the Chamber of London. Wee are,

My Lord,

Your Lordship's Most humble Servants,

F. WYTHENS.

N. DURESME.

FRAN. ELY.

PETER VANDEPUT.

EDW. STILLINGFLEET.



## No. 8.

## BRIEF 1688.

JAMES THE SECOND, BY THE GRACE OF GOD, KING OF England, Scotland, France AND Ireland, Defender of the Faith, &c. To ALL and Singular Archbishops, Bishops, Archdeacons, Deans, and their Officials, Parsons, Vicars, Curates, and all other Spiritual Persons : And also to all Justices of the Peace, Mayors, Sheriffs, Bayliffs, Constables, Churchwardens, Chappelwardens, Headboroughs, Collectors for the Poor, and their Overseers : And also to all Officers of Cities, Boroughs, and Towns Corporate, and to all other Our Officers, Ministers and Subjects whatsoever they be, as well within Liberties as without, to whom these Presents shall come, Greeting.

WHEREAS by Our Letters Patents, bearing date the fifth day of *March* in the second year of Our Reign, We were pleased to signify Our Royal Pleasure, to all Our loving Subjects, on the behalf of the distressed French Protestants, in these words following ; *viz.*

“ WHEREAS it is the highest Prerogative, and most desirable Advantage  
“ of Kings and Sovereign Princes, to have it in Their Power and Will to  
“ do Acts of Publick Clemency and Beneficence ; And since nothing makes  
“ Them more to resemble the Great God of Heaven, from whom only They  
“ derive Their Authority, than to imitate the Divine Goodness in the  
“ Works of Universal Mercy and Compassion : We being informed, that  
“ great Numbers of French Protestants have lately taken Refuge in this,  
“ and Our other Kingdoms, whereof divers being Persons of good Birth  
“ and Quality, having formerly lived in Plenty and Prosperity, are now  
“ reduced to extream Wants and Necessities ; And many others that are  
“ bred up and well skilled in useful Crafts and Mysteries, are, by reason  
“ of their present Poverities and Distresses, utterly disabled, as yet,  
“ to exercise the same, either for the Support of themselves and their  
“ Families, or for the publick Benefit of this Our Kingdom : We have  
“ thought Our Selves obliged by the Laws of Christian Charity, and  
“ common Bonds of Humanity, to take their deplorable Condition into  
“ Our tender Care and Princely Compassion. And to this end We have  
“ resolved to receive into Our Gracious Protection as many of them as  
“ shall live in entire Conformity and orderly Submission to Our Govern-  
“ ment. And besides other Testimonies of Our Royal Pity and Bounty  
“ towards them, We have condescended to Grant them these Our Letters  
“ Patents under Our Great Seal of *England*, to License and Authorise  
“ them to Ask and Receive the Alms and Charitable Contributions of all  
“ Our loving Subjects within Our Kingdom of *England*, Dominion of  
“ *Wales*, and Town of *Berwick upon Tweed*. ” Which Letters Patents so  
given and granted, were to continue in force one whole year from the  
date thereof, and no longer.

AND *whereas* since the expiration of the Term of the said Letters Patents, We have been informed, that although all the several Sums of Money which were Collected by Virtue thereof, have been faithfully expended and applied to the Uses and Purposes within that Brief specified, and by that means a very considerable Number of those French Protestants have been put into a Condition of exercising the Arts and Mysteries they were skilled in, or otherwise providing for themselves and Families, without being any longer burthensome to any : Yet nevertheless a great many others, who are altogether incapable of getting their own Livelyhood, are still under pressing Necessities, and as yet remain utterly

unprovided for, (the Publick Stock of Charity upon which they subsisted now failing.) And not only so, but, as We are informed, great Numbers of distressed French Protestants have, since that time, come over into this Our Kingdom, and do still daily come over, so that, without the continuance of Our Royal Grace and Compassion, and the further Supplies and Charitable Contributions of Our loving Subjects, a great many of those miserable People must inevitably perish.

UPON these Considerations, and for the setting an Example to all Our Subjects of Kindness and Humanity to all Persons in Distress and Affliction, of what Perswasion soever, We have condescended to renew, and now again to grant, Our Letters Patents, under the Great Seal of *England*, to all these distressed French Protestants, without any distinction, in as full and ample manner as We did before; being very desirous that they should not only find all kind Reception here, but also that Benevolence and Charity which We doubt not all Our loving Subjects will, in a bountiful manner, contribute toward their present Relief and Comfort in this their Affliction.

KNOW YE THEREFORE, That of Our Especial Grace and Princely Compassion, We have Given and Granted, and by these Our Letters Patents under Our Great Seal of *England*, do Give and Grant unto the said distressed Protestants, and to their Agents, who shall be lawfully Authorized on their behalf, full Power, License and Authority, to Ask, Gather, Receive and Take (according to the Rules specified in these Presents) the Alms and Charitable Benevolence of all Our loving Subjects, not only Householders, but Servants, Strangers and Others, within all and every the Counties, Cities, Boroughs, Towns Corporate, Priviledged Places, Parishes, Chapelries, Towns, Villages, Hamlets, and all other places whatsoever in Our Kingdom of *England*, Dominion of *Wales*, and Town of *Berwick upon Tweed*.

WHEREFORE We Require and Command all and singular the Archbishops and Bishops of all the Provinces and Diocesses within Our Kingdom of *England* and Dominion of *Wales*, (unto whose Paternal Care and Inspection We chiefly recommend the pursuit of these Our Letters Patents,) That they, and every of them, do give a particular Recommendation and Command to all the Parsons, Vicars and Curates of all and every the Parishes, and other places, as well within Liberties as without, within their respective Diocesses, for the Advancement of this so pious and charitable a Work. And the said Parsons, Vicars and Curates, upon the first Lords-Day, or second at farthest, after that the true Copies of these Our Letters Patents shall be delivered to them, shall deliberately and affectionately publish and declare the Tenor of the same to all Our said loving Subjects; and earnestly persuade, exhort and stir them up, to contribute freely and chearfully towards the Relief of these distressed Christians, by such Motives and Inducements only as in these Our Letters Patents are contained. And the Churchwardens are also hereby required upon the Week-days next following the said Lords-Day, to go from House to House, to Ask and Receive from all the Parishioners, as well Masters, Mistresses and Servants, as others in their Families, their Christian and Charitable Contributions, and to take the Names in Writing of all such as shall Contribute thereunto, and the Sum or Sums by them respectively given. And after such Collection made, they are, in the presence of the respective Inhabitants, on the next Lords-Day following, to subscribe the whole Sums upon the said Briefs, under their Hands, and also to enter them into Books of Accompts, for the said Parishes and Chapelries

respectively, and the Places where, and the Times when, such Sums were Collected : And they are also to deliver the same to the said Parsons, Vicars and Curates respectively, and the said Parsons, Vicars and Curates are to send the said Moneys, together with the said Briefs, unto their respective Archdeacons : Or if the Parish be exempt, to the Archdeacon within the compass of whose Archdeaconry the said Parish lies : And the said several Archdeacons into the Chamber of Our City of *London*, as herein after is declared and directed. And for the better performance of this so pious and charitable a Work, the said Parsons, Vicars and Curates respectively are required (where conveniently they may) to accompany the Churchwardens in Asking and Receiving the Contributions, or procure some other of the chief of the Inhabitants in the said Parishes respectively to do the same.

AND Our further Will and Pleasure is, and We do hereby, for the better Advancement of these Our pious Intentions, Will, Require and Command the Bishops, and all other Dignitaries of the Church, That they make their Contributions distinctly to be returned in the several Provinces to the respective Archbishops of the same. And also that all Our loving Subjects of this Kingdom, of what Dignity, Degree or Quality soever, may manifest their Zeal in so good a Work, We do Recommend it to all Heads and Governors of Colleges and Halls in both Our Universities, and also to the Judges and Officers of all and every Our respective Courts at *Westminster*, and the Professors of the Law, both Common and Civil, and to all Students of the several Inns of Court and Chancery, by their several Bodies and Societies, That they, and every of them, will Contribute their free and charitable Benevolence herein.

AND LASTLY, Our Will and Pleasure is, That the Churchwardens of every Parish, where these Our Letters Patents shall be read, do Collect the Charity of each Parishioner in manner aforesaid, and do pay the same within ten days unto the Parson, Vicar or Curate of their respective Parishes ; which said Parson, Vicar or Curate, shall, within ten days next after the Receipt of the said Money, make return thereof, together with the printed Briefs, to his respective Archdeacon as aforesaid : And where there is no Incumbent, the Collector or Collectors shall pay the said Money to the respective Archdeacon : And that the Archdeacons of these several Archdeaconries do likewise return the said Collections within twenty days next following into the Chamber of Our City of *London* : From whence We do hereby Authorise, Nominate and Appoint the most Reverend Father in God, the Lord Archbishop of *Canterbury*, the Lord High Chancellor of *England*, the Lord President of Our Council, the Lord Privy Seal, the Duke of *Ormond*, the Duke of *Beaufort*, the Lord Chamberlain, the Earl of *Huntingdon*, the Earl of *Peterborough*, the Earl of *Bridgewater*, the Earl of *Craven*, the Earl of *Berkley*, the Earl of *Nottingham*, the Earl of *Middleton*, the Lord Viscount *Fauconberge*, the Right Reverend Fathers in God the Bishop of *Durham*, the Bishop of *Winchester*, the Bishop of *Ely*, the Bishop of *Glocester*, the Bishop of *Rochester*, and the Bishop of *Peterborough* ; the Lord *Preston*, the Lord *Dartmouth*, the Lord *Godolphin*, the Chancellor of the *Exchequer*, the Lord Chief Justice *Wright*, the Lord Chief Justice *Herbert*, the Lord Chief Baron *Atkyns*, Sir *John Charlton*, Our Attorney General, and Our Solicitor General, the Lord Mayor of *London* for the time being, Sir *William Turner*, Sir *William Prichard*, Sir *Robert Geffery*, Sir *John Holt*, Sir *William Gostling*, Sir *Peter Vandeput*, Sir *John Mathews*, Sir *John Tate* Recorder, Sir *Jonathan Raymond*, Sir *Thomas Kensey*, Sir *William Ashurst*, Sir *John Bauden*, Sir

*John Isles, Sir Bartholomew Shore, Sir Basil Firebrace, Sir John Parsons, Sir Thomas Fitch, John Jeffreys Esq; Charles Duncombe, Esq; Alderman Kiffin, Alderman St. Amand, the Dean of St. Pauls, the Dean of Canterbury, the Dean of Norwich, the Dean of Peterborough, the Dean of Windsor, the Dean of Worcester, the Dean of St. Asaph, Dr. Jeffreys, Dr. Tenison, Dr. Sherlock, Dr. Scott, Dr. Dove, Dr. Cave, Dr. Horden, Sir Thomas Eton, Dr. Ruines, Dr. Edisbury, Samuel Pepys, William Bridgman, and William Blithwaite Esquires, and Thomas Firman, Gent.* and they, or any five or more of them, are to dispose and distribute the Money which shall be Collected by Virtue hereof, in such manner as may best answer those Ends for which these Letters Patents were intended. AND We do hereby Direct and Command, That the said several Archdeacons shall and do make Returns unto the Lord Archbishop of *Canterbury*, of what Sums they have received, at the time when they shall pay the same into the Chamber of Our City of *London*: And that their respective Accompts be stated in Words at length, and not in Figures only, and subscribed with their own Hands; Any Law, Statute, Act, Ordinance or Provision heretofore made to the contrary hereof in any wise notwithstanding. IN WITNESS whereof, We have caused these Our Letters to be made Patents, and to continue for one whole Year from the Date hereof, and no longer. WITNESS Our Self at *Westminster*, the One and thirtieth day of *January*, in the third Year of Our Reign.

GOD SAVE THE KING.

FALL.

In the *Savoy*: Printed by Thomas Newcomb, One of His MAJESTIES Printers, 168 $\frac{7}{8}$ .

[Guildhall Library. MS. 345.]

No. 9.

# THE KING'S LETTERS TO THE BISHOP AND THE LORD MAYOR OF LONDON, 1689.

THE KING TO HENRY, BISHOP OF LONDON.

1689, Oct. 31, Whitehall.

The distress of the protestants in Switzerland is greatly increased "by the departure of considerable numbers of the strongest and ablest men amongst them (whose labour and industry contributed in great measure towards the support of their friends and relations) with a design to resettle themselves in some of those places from whence they had been driven; by which means the aged persons left behind with their wives and children are reduced to extreme necessity". We are deeply affected at their deplorable state and have just impressions of their extraordinary patience and the constancy of their faith and we think it incumbent upon us to afford them some help, not doubting the same disposition in our subjects. We therefore commend their case to your especial consideration, requiring you to give direction to the clergy of our city of London and parts adjacent "that in their public assemblies upon the next Lord's day, or as soon as may be possible, they represent the necessities of these poor people and by the most prevailing arguments excite their parishioners in a compassionate regard to their sufferings, freely to contribute to their relief".

[S.P. Dom., King's Letter Book 2, p. 33.]

[Cal. of State Papers Dom. 1689-1690, pp. 309-310.]



## THE KING TO SIR THOMAS PILKINGTON, LORD MAYOR OF LONDON.

1689, Oct. 31, Whitehall.

"Having signified our pleasure to the Bishop of London, requiring him to give directions unto the clergy of that our city and places adjacent that they should in the most effectual manner recommend to the charity of their respective congregations the poor and wretched state of many distressed families who are fled into Switzerland from the persecutions of France and Savoy and have nothing now to rely on but the benevolence and contributions that shall be sent them from abroad, they having already received what that country (not otherwise abounding) has been able to afford them and they being besides destitute of those means for their support which they drew from the labour and industry of those of their relations who are now seeking to recover the possession of their lands from whence they were forcibly expelled: and that all encouragement may be given to so pious a work, we have thought fit to require your assistance and endeavours, that our good subjects inhabiting in that our city, who have already showed their exemplary zeal for the protestant religion by their extraordinary kindness to those who suffer for it, may be again stirred up compassionately to consider the case of these their brethren and accordingly send them relief in some proportion to their pressing necessities; and we have directed that the monies so collected shall be put into such hands as you and the Bishop of London shall appoint to receive the same, to be disposed of to the uses it is raised for." [S. P. Dom., King's Letter Book 2, p. 32.]

[Cal. of State Papers, Domestic, 1689-1690, p. 309.]

## No. 10.

## BRIEF 1694.

*William and Mary*, by the Grace of God, King and Queen of *England, Scotland, France, and Ireland*, Defenders of the Faith, &c. To all and singular Archbishops, Bishops, Archdeacons, Deans, and their Officials, Parsons, Vicars, Curates, and all other Spiritual Persons: And also to all Justices of the Peace, Mayors, Sheriffs, Bayliffs, Constables, Churchwardens, Chappel-Wardens, Headboroughs, Collectors for the Poor, and their Overseers; And also to all Officers of Cities, Boroughs, and Towns Corporate, and to all other our Officers, Ministers, and Subjects, whatsoever they be, as well within Liberties as without, to whom these Presents shall come, Greeting:

WHEREAS the Distressed Protestants of *France* fled hither for Refuge from the Rage and Cruelty of their Persecutors, have humbly Represented to us the sad and deplorable Condition, to which Great Numbers of them are at this time Reduc'd; Notwithstanding the large Charitable Contributions which have been made for their Relief, upon Letters Patents heretofore Granted to that purpose, by Our Royal Predecessors. And notwithstanding that, We Our Selves (from a pious and tender Commiseration of their Case,) have, since Our Accession to the Crown, out of Our Royal Bounty, Issued out of Our Treasury at several times, very considerable Sums for the necessary Support of more than Three Thousand Persons, that are in no Capacity to help themselves by their Labour; many of them, both Men and Women, being Persons of Quality, and above a Hundred of them Ministers, who can

Relieve themselves by the

Exercise of their Function for want of the *English* Tongue, besides many Hundreds of Children and others, who by reason of Sickness or Old Age, or other Infirmities, can do nothing towards a Livelihood and Support. And also a great many others, who partly upon our Gracious Invitation and Encouragement, and partly upon Necessity, not knowing whither else to fly for Safety, are lately come, and still daily endeavouring to come hither, in order to Transport themselves, and settle in *Ireland*: All which must inevitably Perish, without the speedy and charitable Help of well-disposed Persons.

We being touched with a deep Sense and tender Commiseration of their sad Sufferings in the Cause of our common Religion, and of the pressing Necessity which so many of them at present lie under, are very desirous to extend Our Royal Favour and Compassion to them: And that We may invite others by our Example, have ordered the Sum of Two Thousand Pounds to be immediately issued out of Our Exchequer, for their present Subsistence and Relief, not doubting but all Our Good and Loving Subjects, will be ready also on their Part, cheerfully to Contribute to so good a Work: That they who have with so much Difficulty and Hazard escaped the Fury of their Persecutors, and are fled hither for Refuge, may not (to the Eternal Reproach both of Our Nation and Religion) at last, for want of the Necessaries of Life, Perish in the sight of their Brethren of the same Religion, who by the infinite Goodness of God have been so wonderfully Rescued from the like Sufferings, and preserved (as it were) on purpose to be a Sanctuary and Place of Retreat for them.

Know ye therefore, that of Our Especial Grace and Compassion, and out of our pious Care and Zeal to preserve and protect the Protestant Religion, We have Given and Granted, and by these Our Letters Patents under Our Great Seal of *England*, do Give and Grant unto the said distressed Protestants, and to their Agents or other Persons (who shall be lawfully Authorized on their Behalf) full Power, Licence, and Authority, to Ask, Gather, Receive, and take (according to the Rules hereafter specified in these Presents) the Alms and Charitable Benevolence of all Our Loving Subjects, not only Housholders, but also Servants, Strangers and others, Inhabiting within all and every the Counties, Cities, Boroughs, Towns Corporate, Priviledged Places, Parishes, Chappelries, Towns, Villages, Hamlets, and all other Places whatsoever, in Our Kingdom of *England*, Dominion of *Wales*, and Town of *Berwick upon Tweed*, for, and towards the Relief of the said poor distressed and persecuted Protestants.

WHEREFORE We Require and Command all and singular the Archbishops, and Bishops of all and singular the Provinces and Dioceses, within Our Kingdom of *England*, and Dominion of *Wales* (unto whose Paternal Care and Inspection, We chiefly Recommend the pursuit of these Our Letters Patents) that they, and every of them do give a particular Recommendation and Command to all Parsons, Vicars and Curates, of all and every the Parishes and other Places, as well within Liberties as without, within their Respective Dioceses, for the Advancement of this so pious a Work; and the said Parsons, Vicars and Curates upon the next Lord's Day, after that the true Copies of these Our Letters Patents shall be delivered to them, shall deliberately and effectually publish and declare the Tenor of the same unto Our said Loving Subjects, and earnestly exhort persuade and stir them up to Contribute freely and cheerfully towards the Relief of their distressed Brethren. And the Church-War-

dens are also hereby Required (upon the Week-Days next following the Lord's Day) to go from House to House, to Ask and Receive from all the Parishioners, as well Masters, Mistresses and Servants, as others in their Family, their Christian and Charitable Contributions; and to take the Names of all such as shall Contribute thereunto, and the Sum or Sums by them Given respectively fairly Written; and after such Collection made, they are, in the presence of the respective Inhabitants, on the next Lord's Day following, to subscribe the whole Sum upon the said Briefs under their Hands, and also to Enter them into Books of Accompts for the said Parishes and Chappellries respectively, and the Place where, and the Time when, such Sums were Collected, and they are also to deliver the same to the said Parsons, Vicars, or Curates respectively; and the said Parsons, Vicars, or Curates are to send the said Moneys, together with the said Briefs, unto the respective Arch-Deacons, as herein after is declared and directed: And for the better Performance of this so Pious and Charitable a Work, the said Parsons, Vicars, and Curates respectively are desired (where conveniently they may) to Accompany the Church-Wardens in Asking and Receiving the Contributions, or procure some other of the Chief Inhabitants to do the same.

AND Our Will and Pleasure is, and We do hereby, for the better Advancement of these Our Pious Intentions, Will, Require, and Command the Bishops, and all other Dignitaries of the Church, to make their Contributions distinctly to be return'd in the several Provinces to the respective Arch-Bishops of the same.

And also that all Our Loving Subjects of the Kingdom, of what Dignity, Degree, or Quality soever, may manifest their Zeal in so Good a Work, We do Recommend it to all Heads and Governours of Colledges and Halls in both Our Universities, and also to the Judges and Officers of all and every Our Respective Courts at *Westminster*, and the Professors of the Law, both Common and Civil, and to all Students of the several Inns of Court and *Chancery*, by their several Bodies and Societies that they and every of them, will Contribute their free and Charitable Benevolence herein.

AND LASTLY, Our Will and Pleasure is, and We do hereby Recommend unto the Care and Circumspection of all and singular the Arch-Bishops and Bishops of the said Respective Provinces and Dioceses, and the Arch-Deacons, that it be so ordered, that the Collection and Return of the said Moneys may be with the most Ease, and as little Charge and Deductions to be made out of the said Contributions, as is possible. And also that the Church-Wardens of every Parish, where these Our Letters Patents shall be Read, do Collect the Charity of each Parishioner, in Manner as aforesaid, and do Pay the same within ten Days unto the Parson, Vicar or Curate of their respective Parishes, which said Respective Parson, Vicar or Curate, shall within ten Days after his Receipt of the said Money, make Return thereof to his Respective Arch-Deacon: And where there is no Incumbent that the Collector or Collectors Pay the said Moneys to the Respective Arch-Deacons; and that the Arch-Deacon of the several Arch-Deaconries, do likewise Return the said Collections within Twenty Days next after their Receipt thereof into the Chamber of Our City of *London*, from whence We do hereby Authorize and Appoint the most Reverend Father in God the Lord Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury* for the time Being, the Right Honourable the Lord Keeper of the Great Seal of *England*, the Lord Bishop of *London* for the time Being, the Lord Mayor of *London* for the time Being, the two Lords Chief Justices for the time Being, with

Power to them, or any four or more of them, to Call such others to their Assistance as they shall think fit, to dispose and distribute the Money, in such Manner, as may best Answer those Ends, for which these Letters Patents were intended.

And We do hereby Direct, Require and Command, That the said several Arch-Deacons, shall and do Make and Return unto the said Lord Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury*, the Lord Bishop of *London*, and the Lord Mayor of *London*, an Accompt of what Sums they have Received, at the same time they Pay it into the Chamber of *London*, and that all their Respective Accompts be Stated in Words at Length, and not in Figures only, and Subscribed with their own Hands ; In Witness whereof, We have Caused these Our Letters to be made Patents, and to continue for the space of One Year, next after the date hereof, and no longer. Witness Our Selves at *Westminster* the 31th day of *March*, in the Sixth Year of Our Reign.

GOD save the KING and QUEEN.

FALL.

In the *Savoy* : Printed by *Edward Jones*, for *William Fall* dwelling in *Weld-Street*, 1694.

[Guildhall Library. MS. 344.]

No. 11.

BRIEF 1699.

William the Third, By the Grace of God, King of England, Scotland, France and Ireland, Defender of the Faith, &c. To All and Singular Archbishops, Bishops, Archdeacons, Deans and their Officials, Parsons, Vicars, Curates and all other Spiritual Persons ; and also to all Justices of the Peace, Mayors, Sheriffs, Bayliffs, Constables, Churchwardens, Chapelwardens, Headboroughs, Collectors for the Poor, and their Overseers ; and also to all Officers of Cities, Boroughs, and Towns Corporate : and to all other Our Officers, Ministers and Subjects whatsoever they be, as well within Liberties as without, to whom these Presents shall come, Greeting.

Whereas it has been humbly represented to Us, by the *Sieur Henry Arnault*, and others employed by the *Vaudois*, Inhabitants of the *Valleys* on this side of the *River Cluson* That they being Subjects of France before the late War, have since the Conclusion of the Peace, through Popish Cruelty, been Excluded and Banisht from their Native Countrey, without any present hope of Return, but by Renouncing their Holy Religion, which, through the Singular Goodness of God, both they and their Brethren the *Vaudois* of *Piedmont* on the other side of the said River, have hitherto kept undefiled : Being thus separated from their said Brethren, and driven to seek a place of habitation for themselves and their Families, to the Number of about Three thousand five hundred Souls, destitute and bereft of all means of Subsistence, they must have Perisht but for the exemplary Charity of the Protestant Cantons of *Switzerland*, by whom they have been Fed and Cloathed for these Five Months last past, notwithstanding another great Charge they are at for the Maintaining of Eight thousand Poor French Refugees, who, by reason of the Scarcity there, are likewise obliged to seek a Retreat elsewhere ; But that now the said *Vaudois*, and the said French Refugees, having obtained some Waste Lands to Inhabit in the Countreies of some of the Protestant



Princes in Germany, which Lands they are obliged forthwith to Plant, and to bring into Tillage, and being not able to do this of themselves or their extream Poverty, nor even to Subsist while they are doing it, have therefore humbly Implored Our Royal Compassion, of which We take them to be very great Objects ; and therefore have thought fit to grant them Our Letters Patents, for the Gathering of the Alms of all Our Loving Subjects, whose hearts God shall move to Contribute to the Relief of their Pressing Necessity and Misery.

Know Ye Therefore, That of Our especial Grace and Princely Compassion, We have Given and Granted, and by These Our Letters Patents under Our Great Seal of England, do Give and Grant unto the said Distressed Protestants, and to their Agents who shall be Lawfully Authorized on their behalf, full Power, Licence and Authority, to Ask, Gather, Receive and Take (according to the Rules Specified in these Presents) the Alms and Charitable Benevolence of all Our Loving Subjects, not only Housholders, but also Servants, Strangers and others, within all and every the Counties, Cities, Boroughs, Towns Corporate, Priviledged Places, Parishes, Chapelries, Towns, Villages, Hamlets, and all other Places whatsoever, in Our Kingdom of England, Dominion of Wales, and Town of Berwick upon Tweed.

Wherefore We Require and Command all and Singular the Archbishops and Bishops of all the Provinces and Dioceses within Our Kingdom of England and Dominion of Wales, (unto whose Paternal Care and Inspection We chiefly recommend the effectual Execution of these Our Letters Patents) that they and every of them, do give a particular Recommendation and Command to all the Parsons, Vicars and Curates of all and every the Parishes and other Places, as well within Liberties as without, within their respective Dioceses, for the Advancement of this so Pious and Charitable a Work.

And Our further Will and Pleasure is, That the said Archbishops and Bishops do Require their respective Archdeacons, that within Ten Days after the true Copies of these Our Letters Patents shall be delivered to them, to cause the same to be delivered by their respective Apparitors to the said Parsons, Vicars and Curates, of all and every the Parishes and other the Places, as well within Liberties, as without, within the respective Archdeaconries to which they belong, for which the said Apparitors to be allowed out of every Brief so delivered Four Pence only. And the said Parsons, Vicars and Curates, upon the Fifth Day of April, appointed for a Day of General Fasting and Humiliation, or upon the Sixteenth Day of the said Month of April, being the Sunday next after Easter-day, shall Deliberately and Affectionately Publish and Declare the Tenor of the same unto Our said Loving Subjects, and earnestly Perswade, Exhort and Stir them up to Contribute Freely and Chearfully towards the Relief of these Distressed Christians. And the Churchwardens are also hereby required on the Week-days next following the said Fast day, or the said Sixteenth Day of April, to go from House to House, to Ask and Receive from all the Parishioners, as well Masters, Mistresses and Servants, as others in their Families, their Christian and Charitable Contributions, and to take the Names in Writing of all such as shall Contribute thereunto, and the Sums or Sums by them respectively given. And after such Collection made, they are in the presence of the respective Inhabitants, on the next Lords Day following, to Subscribe the whole Sums upon the said Briefs under their Hands, and also to Enter them into Books of Accounts for the said Parishes and Chapelries respectively, and the Places where, and the

Times when such Sums were Collected ; and they are also to Deliver the same to the said Parsons, Vicars and Curates respectively. And the said Parsons, Vicars and Curates, are to send the said Moneys, together with the said Briefs, unto their respective Archdeacons ; or if the Parish be exempt, to the Archdeacon within the Compass of whose Archdeaconry the said Parish lies ; And the said several Archdeacons, to the respective Bishops of the several Dioceses, as herein after is Declared and Directed. And for the better performance of this so Pious and Charitable a Work, the said Parsons, Vicars and Curates respectively, are required, where conveniently they may, to Accompany the Churchwardens in Asking and Receiving the Contributions, or procure some other of the Chief of the Inhabitants in the said Parishes respectively to do the same.

And Our further Will and Pleasure is, and We do hereby, for the better Advancement of these Our Pious Intentions, Will, Require and Command the Bishops, and all other Dignitaries of the Church, that they make their Contributions distinctly, to be Returned in the several Provinces to the Respective Archbishops of the same. And also that all Our Loving Subjects of this Kingdom, of what Dignity, Degree or Quality whatsoever, may manifest their Zeal in so good a Work, We do Recommend it to all Heads and Governors of Colleges and Halls in both Our Universities, and also to the Judges and Officers of all and every Our respective Courts at Westminster, and the Professors of the Law both Common and Civil, and to all Students of the several Inns of Court and Chancery, by their several Bodies and Societies, that they and every of them will Contribute their Free and Charitable Benevolence herein.

And Lastly, Our Will and Pleasure is, That the Churchwardens of every Parish where these Our Letters Patents shall be Read, do Collect the Charity of each Parishioner in manner aforesaid, and do Pay the same within Ten Days unto the Parson, Vicar or Curate of their respective Parishes ; which said Parson, Vicar or Curate, shall, after the Receipt of the said Money, make Return thereof, together with the Printed Briefs, to his respective Archdeacon, as aforesaid, at his the said Archdeacons Visitation after the Feast of Easter next ensuing ; and where there is no incumbent, the Collector or Collectors shall Pay the said Money to the respective Archdeacons, as aforesaid ; and the Archdeacons of the several Archdeaconries shall Return the said Collections within Ten Days next after the Receipt thereof, unto the Chancellors, Commissaries or Officials of their respective Dioceses : And the said Chancellors, Commissaries or Officials, shall return them, within a Month next following, into the Chamber of Our City of London : From whence We do hereby Authorize and Appoint the most Reverend Father in God the Lord Archbishop of Canterbury, The Lord High Chancellor of England, The Lord Archbishop of York, The Lord President of Our Council, The Lord Privy Seal, The Duke of Somerset, Chancellor of the University of Cambridge, The Duke of Ormond, Chancellor of the University of Oxford, The Duke of Devonshire, Lord Steward of Our Houshold, the Lords Commissioners of Our Treasury, The Earl of Stamford, Chancellor of the Dutchy of Lancaster, the Right Reverend Fathers in God, the Lords Bishops of London, Winchester, Litchfield Our Lord Almoner, Rochester, Sarum and Ely, The Lord Chief Justice Holt, The Lord Chief Justice Treby, The Lord Chief Baron Ward, James Vernon, Esq ; Our Principal Secretary of State, Our Attorney General, Our Solicitor General, The Lord Mayor, Sheriffs and Aldermen of Our City of London for the time being, The Vice Chancellors of both Our Universities for the time being, The Dean

of Canterbury, The Dean of St. Paul's, The Dean of York, Dr. Godolphin, Dr. Stanley, Dr. Younger, Residentiaries of St. Paul's, Dr. Willis Prebendary of Westminster, Dr. Freeman Dean of Peterborough and Rector of St. Paul Covent Garden, Dr. Wake Rector of St. James's Westminster, Dr. Haley Rector of St. Giles's in the Fields, Dr. Lancaster Vicar of St. Martins in the Fields, Dr. Maningham Rector of St. Andrew's Holbourn, Dr. Hody Rector of St. Michael Royal, Dr. Izham Rector of St. Bottolph's Bishops-gate, Mr. Bradford Rector of St. Mary le Bow, Mr. Fleetwood Rector of St. Austin's, Dr. Oxenden Dean of the Arches, Sir Charles Hedges, Dr. Newton Chancellor of London: And they, or any Five or more of them, are to Dispose of such Sums as shall be Collected, either in Whole or in Part, according to the Accounts and Memorials which shall be sent by Mr. Philippe d'Hervart Our Envoy Extraordinary in Switzerland; and George Stepney Esq, Our Envoy Extraordinary at the Court of Brandenburg, whom We have expressly Charged to take Care of the Settlement of the Vaudois and French Refugees, in the Dominions of those Princes who shall Receive them, and Grant them Lands, and to whom We have sent Positive Orders not to Distribute any thing, but according to the Establishments which shall be Signed by the Ministers and Captains of the Vaudois and the French Committees that shall be Appointed in those Places; to the end all the Moneys may be Employed to the best Uses, and given only to such as are in a Body or Society, whereby the Memory and Name of the Vaudois may be ever Preserved, and to Contribute to the Settlement of the Poor French Protestants who shall be obliged to leave Switzerland. And We do hereby Direct and Command, That the said several Archdeacons, shall and do make Returns to their respective Bishops, and those respective Bishops, unto the Lord Archbishop of Canterbury, of what Sums they have Received at the time when they shall Pay them to the Chancellors, Commissaries or Officials; and that their respective Accounts be Stated in Words at length, and not in Figures only, and Subscribed with their own Hands. In Witness whereof, We have caused these Our Letters to be made Patents, to continue for one whole Year from the Date hereof, and no longer. Witness Our Self at Westminster, the Twelfth Day of March, in the Eleventh Year of Our Reign.

GOD SAVE THE KING.

London, Printed by Charles Bill, and the Executrix of Thomas Newcomb, deceased, Printers to the Kings most Excellent Majesty. 1699.

No. 12.

BRIEF 1703.

The Brief is addressed not only to the Clergy of the Established Church, but also to the Preachers and Teachers of the Dissenting Congregations.

A GRANT OF CHARITY TO THE REFUGEES OF THE PRINCIPALITY OF ORANGE.

Anne by the grace of God of England Scotland France and Ireland Queen Defender of the Faith To all and Singular Archbishops Bishops Archdeacons Deanes and their Officialls Parsons Vicars Curates and all other Spirituall persons and also to all Justices of the Peace Mayors

Sheriffs Bayliffs Constables Church Wardens Chappell Wardens Head-boroughs Collectors for the Poore And their Overseers And also to all Officers of Cityes Boroughs And Townes Corporate And to all other our Officers Ministers And Subiects Whatsoever they be aswell Within liberties as Without to Whome these presents Shall come Greeting Where As it hath been Humbly represented vnto vs That a great number of the Inhabitants of the Principality of Orange Subiects to our late Dear Brother King William the third Who have constantly Adhered to the Reformed Religion have lately been forced by the french king's Orders to Quitt their Native Country and their Estates because they Would not forsake their Holy Religion And turne Papists And that the Said Refugees to the number of three thousand of both sexes and of all ages and Conditions are through popish Cruelty Wholly bereft and made destitute of all meanes of Subsistance And thereby rendered most iust obiects of all good Christians Compassion and Charity of Whose deplorable condition Wee declare our selves highly sensible And therefore have thought fitt to grant them our letters Patents for the gathering the Almes of all our loveing Subiects Whose hearts god shall move to contribute to the releife of their pressing necessity and misery know ye therefore that of our especiall Grace and Princely Compassion Wee have given and granted and by these our letters Patents under our Great Seale of England do give and Grant unto the Said distressed Protestants full power lycence and authority to aske gather receive and take in manner and according to the Rules specified in these presents the Almes and charitable benevolence of all our loveing Subiects not only householders but also Servants Strangers and others Within all and every the Counties Cities Boroughs Townes Corporate priviledged Places Parishes Chappelries Townes Villages Hamletts and all other places Whatsoever Within our Kingdome of England Dominion of Wales and Towne of Berwick upon Tweed And Wee require and Command all and Singular the Arch Bishops and Bishops of all the Provinces and Diocesses Within our Kingdome of England and Dominion of Wales vnto Whose paternall care and inspection Wee cheifly recommend the effectual Execucon of these our letters Patents that they and every of them do give a peticular Recommendation and Command to all Parsons Vicars and Curates of all and every the Parishes and other places aswell within libertys as without within their respective Diocesses for the advancement of this so pious and Charitable a Worke And further our Will and pleasure is that the said Archbishops and Bishops do require their respective Arch Deacons Within tenn days after true Coppies of these our letters Patents shall be delivered to them or left for them with the Registers of their respective Arch deaconries to cause the same to be delivered by the respective Apparitors to the Parsons Vicars or Curates of all or every the parishes and other places aswell within liberties as without Within the respective Archdeaconries to which they belong for which the said Apparitors shall be allowed out of every Briefe six pence only And the said Parsons Vicars or Curates vpon some Sunday Within one month then next comeing shall deliberately And Affectionately publish and declare the tenour of the same vnto our said loveing Subiects and earnestly perswade exhort and stirr them vp to contribute freely and cheerfully towards the Releife of these distressed Christians And the Church Wardens in all Cities Boroughs and Townes Corporate Cinque Ports and Markett Townes Are hereby required on the Weekes dayes next following to go from house to house in their respective Parishes to aske and re-

ceive from all the Parishoners aswell Masters Mistresses and Servants as others in their families their Christian and Charitable Contributions and to take the names in writeing of all such as shall contribute thereunto and the Sume or Sumes by them respectively given And after such collection made they are in the presence of the respective Inhabitants on the next Lords day following to subscribe the whole Sume vpon the said Breifes vnder their hands in Words at length and not in figures and also to enter them in Bookes of Account for the said Parishes and Chappelries respectively and the places where and the times when such Sumes were Collected and they are to deliver the said Breifes together with the moneys Collected thereupon to the said Parsons Vicars and Curates respectively And the said Parsons Vicars and Curates are within two months then next coming to send the said moneys together with the said Breifes vnto the Register or Registers of their respective Archdeacons or if the Parish be Exempt to the Register of the Archdeacon within the Compass of whose Archdeaconrie the said Parish lyeth and for the better performance of this so pious and Charitable a worke the said Parsons Vicars and Curates respectively are required where conveniently they may to accompany the Churchwardens in asking and receiving the contribucons or procure some other of the Cheife of the Inhabitants in the Parishes respectively to do the same and our will and pleasure is that the Churchwardens of every other Parish where these our letters Patents or a true Copy thereof shall be read do Collect the Charity of each Parishoner in the Church or Chappell of their respective Parishes in the usuall manner after the reading thereof and shall indorse the Sume Collected vpon the said Printed Copy in manner aforesaid and pay the same vnto the Parson Vicar or Curate of their respective Parishes which said Parson Vicar or Curate shall after the Receipt of the said moneys make returne thereof together with the Printed Breifes within two monthes then next coming to the Register of his respective Arch Deacon as aforesaid and where there is no Incumbent the Collector or Collectors shall pay the said monys to the Respective Arch deacons Register as aforesaid And we do hereby Command and require That the Arch Deacons and their respective Registers of the severall Archdeaconries shall returne the said Collections within one month next after their Receipt thereof into the Chamber of our City of London And our further will and pleasure is and wee do hereby for the better advancement of this our pious intention require and Command the Bishops and all other Dignitaries in the Church that they make their Contribucons distinctly to be returned in the severall provinces to the respective Archbishops of the same And we do recommend it to all Heads and Governors and fellows of Colledges and Halls in both our vniversities that they and every of them will contribute their free and Charitable benevolence herein and returne the same to the said Chamber of our City of London And wee do hereby further require and Command all preachers and Teachers in the Seperate Congregations and meetings of Protestant Dissenters That within one month after these our letters Patents or true Coppyes thereof shall be brought to them from or by the Church Wardens of the respective Parishes where the said Congregations and meetings are held they do publish and declare the tenor of the same in their respective Congregacons and earnestly perswade and exhort the hearers and members of their respective Congregations liberally to contribute towards the Releife of those afflicted and distressed Christians and that they do Cause the Charity of their respective Congregations to be duely Collected and the Sumes Collected to be Indorsed upon the said

Printed Copies and signed by the said Preachers and Teachers with the time when and where the said Collections were made And that they doe Cause the Sumes soe Collected together with the said Printed Breifes or Copys to be returned to the Church Wardens from whom they received the Printed Breifes or Copys who are hereby required to pay the said Sumes together with the other Collections of the said Parish as is herein before directed And to the intent that all the moneys to be Collected by vertue of these our letters Patents may be fully and effectually paid into the Chamber of London for the benefit of the said poore distressed Christians wee do hereby direct and Require all Parsons Vicars and Curates by a letter vnder their hands to the Lord Arch Bishop of Canterbury to be sent by the Generall Post to signifie to the said Lord Archbishop what Summe they respectively have Collected vpon this Breife and to whome they have paid the same and when and to sett downe in their said letters the name of their respective Parish and in what County and Archdeaconry the said Parish lyeth And wee do hereby Constitute nominate and appoint The most Reverend ffather in God the Lord Archbishop of Canterbury the Lord Keeper of the Great Seale of England the Lord Archbishop of Yorke the Lord high Treasurer of England, the Lord President of our Councill the Duke of Buckingham Keeper of our Privy Seale the Duke of Somerset Master of our horse The Duke of Devonshire Lord Steward of our houshold The Lord Chamberlain of our houshold The Earle of Nottingham one of our Principall Secretaries of State the Right Reverend fathers in God the Lord Bishops of London Winchester Durham Rochester Sarum Ely Norwich Chichester Bangor Carlisle and St. Asaph The Chancellor of our Dutchy of Lancaster the Lord Cheife Justice Holt the Lord Cheife Justice Trevor the Lord Cheife Baron Ward Sir Charles Hedges Knight one of our Principall Secretaries of State our Attorney Generall our Sollicitor Generall The Lord Mayor Sheriffs and Aldermen of our City of London for the time being Doctor Sherlock Deane of Saint Pauls in London Doctor Godolphin Provost of Eaton Doctor freeman Deane of Peterborough Doctor Haley Deane of Chichester Doctor Wake Dean of Exeter Doctor Stanley Doctor Younger Doctor Lancaster Doctor Manningham Doctor Birch Doctor Gibson Sir John Cooke Knight Deane of the Arches Doctor Newton Chancellor of London Doctor Brampston Doctor Waller Doctor lloyd Doctor Beveridge and Doctor Mapletoft or Any seaven or more of them Whereof the Lord Archbishop of Canterbury the Lord Archbishop of Yorke the Bishops of London Rochester Ely Norwich and St Asaph the Lord Mayor of London the Deane of St Pauls Doctor freeman Doctor Haley and Doctor Wake or any of them wee will shall be one to be Trustees for the paying and disposing of the said moneys that shall be collected as aforesaid to and amongst the said Refugees or for their benefitt maintenance and Support and the said Trustees in their discretions shall think fitt And wee doe hereby Authorize and appoint the said Trustees or any such seaven or more of them as aforesaid to direct the payment And disposiçon of all the said moneys so to be Collected deducting first thereout and allowing such necessary expences for managment and the Execuçon of these prents as they shall thinke fitt to and amongst the said poor Refugees or for their benefitt maintenance and support as the said Trustees or any seaven or more of them as aforesaid in their discretion shall think most conducing for the benefitt and advantage of the said Poore Refugees Whose Orders and direcçons therein the Chamberlaine of our said City of London is hereby required to observe

And Wee doe hereby direct and Command That the said severall Archdeacons and their respective Registers shall doe and make returns to their respective Bishops and the Respective Bishops vnto the Archbishop of Canterbury of all the said Printed Coppies of these presents and an Account of what Sumes they have received thereupon at the time when they shall pay them to the Chamber of London and that their respective accounts be Stated in Words at length and not in figures only and Subscribed with their hands In Witnesse Whereof We Have caused these our letters to be made Patents Witnesse our selfe at Westminster the eleventh day of November (in the second year of our reign).

[Public Record Office (Patent Roll 3438).]

No. 13.

The paper here reprinted would appear to have been distributed by the French Churches among their members, in connection with the collection taking place under the Brief of 1703.

[MS. Rawl. D. 1504 (f. 11).]

Sa Majesté ayant fait cognoître, par ses lettres Patentes combien elle est sensible à l'affliction de nos freres d'Orange qui ont été chassés de leur Patrie, et dépouillés de leurs biens, par la cruauté de la Persecution, et ayant en consequence ordonné que l'on fit pour ces Pauvres Chrétiens persecutés une collecte, par tout son Royaume, La Compagnie de ce Consistoire en obeissant aux ordres de sa Majesté, qui lui ont été signifiés, à Jugé à propos de vous avertir, et de solliciter tous les membres de cette Eglise, d'entrer avec sa Majesté dans cette bonne œuvre : en telle sorte que lorsque les Collecteurs iront par les maisons pour amasser le fruit de cette charité, chacun s'élargisse selon son pouvoir, et selon que Dieu lui mettra au cœur, afin de secourir ces Chrétiens affligés qui se trouvent dépouillés de toutes choses, pour la cause de l'Evangile et de la Sainte Religion que nous professons.

**The Early History of the French Protestant Hospital  
(La Providence). Continued from the Death in 1737  
of Philippe Menard, the First Chaplain and Sec-  
retary, to 1760, the End of the Reign of George II.**

BY ARTHUR GIRAUD BROWNING, F.S.A.,  
PRESIDENT OF THE HUGUENOT SOCIETY OF LONDON; DEPUTY-GOVERNOR OF  
THE FRENCH HOSPITAL.

THREE years ago I was permitted to contribute to the *Proceedings* of this Society a paper on the origin and early history of the French Protestant Hospital. The interest which was then aroused by the simple story of the inception and early administration of this great Huguenot charity was so general among the Fellows of the Huguenot Society of London that I venture now to offer a continuation of my paper.

It may be remembered that, after describing in some detail how the intense gratitude of many of the wealthier and more prosperous of the refugees from the persecutions of Louis XIV. manifested itself in a really extraordinary amount of sympathy and helpfulness towards their poorer fellow-exiles, I traced the steps which led from individual to organised acts of charity, from the feeding of the hungry to the provision of work for whole families and groups, from the care of the sick in their own homes to the adapting as a kind of temporary hospital a small and unsuitable building lent for the purpose by the City of London.

From its having been used as a shelter or refuge for emergent cases during the Great Plague this building was known by the forbidding name of the Pest House. It had probably stood empty since the last occupants were carried out to the plague cart at the summons of the bellman and to the dismal cry "Bring out your dead," and I quite think that traces of a roughly painted red cross and of the inscription, "Lord have mercy upon us," were still to be found lingering on its weather-worn door.



I then showed from the archives of the Corporation and from other contemporary documents that the poor exiles were visited in the Pest House by M. de Gastigny, M. Philippe Menard and other members of the committee formed to administer the fund called the Royal Bounty, and that from these visitations and from the longing to see their sick and suffering fellow-countrymen "housed in a building with appointments suited to their French tastes and habits and served by their own kinsfolk," sprang the "Hospital for Poor French Protestants and their descendants residing in Great Britain".

In treating of its origin I was enabled by the courtesy of the Court of Directors to lay before our society, and to print as an appendix to the paper, the petition for a charter, with the report upon it by the law officers of the Crown, the charter itself, the accounts for the purchase of the site and for the building of the Hospital, and many other documents relating to its origin. Further, my paper was illustrated by copies of some of the historic portraits which adorn the Court room of the Hospital; among others that of the Rev. Philippe Menard, the first Secretary, with whose death in 1737 the record was brought to a close.

I propose now to glean from the Court Minute-books and from other original documents the story of the French Hospital from 1737 until the end of the reign of George II. in 1760, at which period the prosperity of the Corporation is said to have reached its highest point,<sup>1</sup> and if the interest of the Fellows of the Huguenot Society in this the most important and enduring of all the Huguenot charities is maintained, I shall hope that future papers will bring the history of the Hospital down to our own times.

I have lately seen in Egypt many temples of the early world which had lain buried for centuries restored to the knowledge of men by the removal of the sand-drifts which had covered them. First the stately avenue of approach had been laid bare, then the façade, revealing the builder, the occasion and the purpose of the temple, then the inner halls and chambers whose sculptured walls and columns told the story of their daily use and service. But in every case the complete uncovering was the work of years and of many explorers.

<sup>1</sup> Agnew, vol. i., p. 74.

Now often in the evenings on the Nile stream I thought of the French Hospital, and, with my fancy quickened I suppose by the brilliant influence of Eastern surroundings, it seemed to me in its way as one of those temples from which I was feebly endeavouring to remove the sand-drifts that obscured its early history. An ample field is still left for myself, or other and more able explorers, if the work of our Huguenot ancestors in connection with this monument of their practical philanthropy is to be made known to their descendants of this generation.

Perhaps the first thing that strikes one in following the early minutes of the Court of the French Hospital is the transparent simplicity of character of those who penned them, and the habitual, even the almost unconscious reliance upon Divine guidance in the ordinary affairs of life. The simple piety of these good men did not always ensure them the advantage in their dealing with the children of this world, whom we know on the very highest authority to be "wiser in their generation than the children of light," but it did certainly give them a steadiness of purpose, a quiet enthusiasm and a breadth of charity which, though nowhere expressed in terms, are always in silent evidence.

The minutes of the Court of 6th July, 1737, which form a connecting link between my first paper and the present, will very well illustrate the point I wish to establish. Immediately on the opening of the Court the Governors ordered this record to be made :—

"God having taken to Himself M. Menard, the Secretary of this Corporation, the Directors present are most deeply touched with a sense of the great loss the Corporation has sustained, and they desire to honour M. Menard's memory for the very great services which he rendered to this hospital".

The sentence continues :—

"And proceeding to elect a Secretary in his place M. Philippe de Crespigny was unanimously chosen and the key of the chest which had hitherto been held by M. Menard was placed in his hands".

Could any record have been simpler?

Another thing that arrests attention and excites admiration is the enormous amount of personal service rendered by many of the early Directors to the poor and suffering among

their fellow-exiles. The administration of the Hospital, full and thorough as it was, cannot have made such demands upon their time and thought as the constant visiting of refugee families with its resultant work imposed upon the Directors, who also served on the Committees of the Bounty. Then, too, the professional services voluntarily rendered by several of the Directors in connection with the bequests and legacies to the Hospital, with purchases and sales of land and with investments must have been very considerable. Almost every page of the early Minutes records instances of the kind. It is sufficient here to state the fact generally of the spirit of self-sacrifice shown by the Directors was very catching. At least two of the Stewards of the Hospital were volunteers, and when one after many years' labour was compelled by old age and infirmity to relinquish his position, he asked no other recompense for his past services than to be allowed to end his days in the Hospital, but with the privilege of a private room.

Immediately after the election of a new Secretary in 1737, M. Amand Allonhé Duperron, the executor of M. Menard, was introduced to the Court. He brought a copy of a will from which he read extracts. The first recounted that M. Menard had placed in the *coffre* or chest of the Court a sealed packet, to be opened at a future date and under certain conditions. M. Duperron asked to see the packet, the chest was accordingly opened, the packet found, the endorsement upon it read, and the packet replaced in the chest. Another paragraph in the will bequeathed to the Hospital the reversion after two lives of some annuities.

We shall meet with the sealed packet later, but to proceed with the minutes of this Court, the Estate Committee presented their report exactly after the manner of the Estate Committee of to-day, and questions were discussed as to the appropriation of part of the newly purchased land for a cemetery for the inmates who should die in the Hospital, as to providing better accommodation for those of unusual mind. It is curious that the first of these questions for its solution only last year (164 years after it was originally raised), in a way that I will presently describe, while it took just twenty years for the second to become *un fait accompli*.

I have tried, though unsuccessfully, to find when and where the French Hospital first became known among the refugees by the endearing title of "La Providence". At the General Court held in September, 1718, the subject

motto of a Common Seal were determined upon. The subject was the feeding of Elijah by the Ravens; the motto, "*Dominus providebit*". Here is at once the idea of *La Providence*, and it is more than likely that the title already current suggested both the subject and motto of the Common Seal of the Corporation. In one will, dated 1731, the Hospital is called "The House of Providence," and in another of the same date "*La Providence*".

But whatever may have been the origin of this title the fame of *La Providence* was spread far and wide by the splendid generosity of Madame Du Four and of her husband, M. Paul Du Four, who for twenty years was Treasurer of the Corporation. In 1734 Madame Du Four died leaving part of her large private fortune to her husband for his life with reversion to the Governors of the French Hospital in trust for the benefit of poor French Protestants. But M. Du Four determined that effect should at once be given to the benevolent intentions of his wife, and he accordingly transferred to Trustees chosen from among the Directors, himself being one, a sum of £15,400 in New South Sea Annuities.

The Hospital records of the next few years show how varied were the benefits that the poor French Protestants derived from this legacy, and how wide was the field over which they were distributed. Among the many works of charity beyond the Hospital walls that the Du Four legacies rendered possible was the sustentation of refugee families visited by the Committees who were appointed at each Quarterly Court. About eighty poor people who could not be received into the Hospital received monthly grants of from 8s. to 10s. so long as the fund lasted. The Maisons de Charité of Spitalfields and Soho were helped in their good work by donations of £300 to each. Three refugee children named Le Tellier who were reported to be in Jersey in an almost starving condition were clothed and helped on two or three occasions. The nephew of M. du Plessis, the first elected Chaplain of the Hospital, was sent to Leyden to be trained for the ministry, and a sum of £50 was entrusted to the Rev. Israel Antoine Aufrere, one of the Directors, to be applied to the benefit of *les pauvres galériens*. No wonder that the persecuted Protestants in France, as well as those who had found refuge in other European countries besides England, should look upon the new Huguenot charity that had arisen in London as a kind of *Providence*, "a very present help in time of trouble".

But perhaps the means of help afforded by Madame Four's legacy were never so gratefully appreciated by the Directors as in the few months following the death of her husband. He died in January, 1739. Agnew quotes in the *Gentleman's Magazine* a statement that he left the Hospital £10,000, but that is an error; the Court Minutes record a legacy of only £300.

In December, 1739, England was visited by a frost which proved to be one of the longest and most severe on record. It lasted for eight or nine weeks, and as the days passed distress among the poor rapidly intensified. In London the water supply was frozen, most trades were stopped, food and fuel rose to famine prices, and very many deaths occurred from starvation. The distress became so great that the poor could only be kept alive by the help of the rich or of the benevolent.

In this crisis an Extraordinary Court of the French Hospital was summoned. It was attended by the Governor, Deputy-Governor, Treasurer, Secretary and twenty-eight Directors. The sufferings that were being patiently borne by the poor refugees were considered and the Court unanimously resolved to apply immediately £2,000 from the residue of Madame Du Four's legacy to their alleviation. Special committees were appointed, one for the City and one for Westminster and £1,000 entrusted to each for distribution. One can imagine the rejoicing of the suffering refugees on hearing of this timely help against the privations they were enduring. But even these large grants proved insufficient to cope with the distress. Both committees reported to the following Court that they had been compelled to supplement them from their own resources, whereupon a further grant of £200 was made to each, and later entries show that their work of charity extended well into the summer.

"'Tis not enough to help the feeble up,  
But to support him after."

#### THE GREAT FROST, 1739-40.

Perhaps I may be allowed a short digression on the subject of this great frost of 1739-40, for I think no frost like it has been known in our generation. The severity of the weather over the whole of Europe was phenomenal. Even in St. Petersburg, where hard winters are common, the severity of this one was altogether uncommon. The Empress of Russia

had a palace of ice erected on the banks of the Neva. Its walls were formed of large square blocks of ice, the apartments were splendidly furnished and at night brilliantly illuminated, and the palace was guarded by six cannon, all of ice, which were occasionally fired off to the delight of the populace and without injury to themselves.

In England the frost began on Christmas Day, 1739, and lasted until the middle of February, 1740. During those two months all our rivers were frozen, work in many trades was completely stopped, for coals and water were hardly obtainable—even food was almost as difficult to procure. The destruction of animal and bird life throughout the country was enormous, and we can imagine how intense were the sufferings of the poor. In London a few days after the frost had set in the trouble was greatly intensified by an awful wind storm which wrecked houses and carried havoc and destruction among the shipping on the Thames, causing a great sacrifice of life. Numbers of vessels, many laden with corn and coal, were driven from their moorings and sunk by the huge tables of ice that were hurled against them, and still greater numbers of lighters and boats were overwhelmed. Yet a few days later, and the Thames above London Bridge was frozen solid. At once tents and booths were erected, forming an almost complete street from Westminster to the City. In these booths wares of every kind were sold, besides food, and, of course, drinks in great variety; coaches plied for hire along the frozen road, so did some of the ferry boats that had been ingeniously fitted with skate runners for the purpose. Printers and engravers from the Strand set up their presses on the ice and found a ready sale for the ballads and rude copperplate engravings that they struck off.<sup>1</sup> All the variety shows that go to make up the fun of country fairs gravitated to London's frozen river, scenting business from afar; bull-baiting and bear-baiting and other miscalled "sports" were also in full force. The inevitable ox was roasted whole near Hungerford Stairs and retailed all hot at a shilling a slice.

It was at the breaking up of this great frost that poor Doll, the pippin woman, came to her untimely and tragic end. While plying her trade the ice cracked beneath her, letting her through, and, instantly closing again, chopped her head clean off and sent it spinning along the ice, still crying "pip,

<sup>1</sup> Some of these are preserved in the British Museum.

pip, pip". A graphic description of this great frost fair given by the poet Gay in the second book of his *Tr*. His account of the sad fate of poor Doll ends with the lines : -

The cracking crystal yields : she sinks, she dies.  
Her head chapt from her lost shoulders flies.  
"Pippins," she cried, but death her voice confounds.  
And "pip, pip, pip," along the ice resounds.

A resolution of the Court in July, 1740, to which I have already referred, entrusting to the Rev. Israel Antoine Aub. £50 to be applied at his discretion to the benefit of *les past gabriels* has a pathetic interest, for it reminds us how the persecutions of the Protestants in France which had been allowed to die down for a time were renewed in all their vigour when the Duc de Bourbon was appointed in 1715 Regent to the young King Louis XV. Instigated no doubt by the clerical faction, one of his first acts was to issue in the King's name a decree which rivalled in injustice and cruelty any that had been made by Louis XIV.

All religious meetings were once more proscribed, Protestant marriages and baptisms were declared null and void, and the rites of Christian burial were refused to Protestants. The result was a renewed flight from France ; not less than 10,000 Protestants are said to have left the country during the first two years of the Duc de Bourbon's Regency (1724-1726). Still the persecutions continued. In one year (1746) twenty-eight persons in Languedoc and forty-five in Guienne, and doubtless many more in other parts of France, were condemned to the galleys for attending the "assemblies in the desert," and several of the pastors conducting those assemblies were hanged. In one single particular the lot of the poor galley slaves of this period was less hard than that of the victims of Louis XIV. The galleys were no longer used in actual warfare, and the poor half-naked and defenceless rowers were no longer swept from their benches by discharges at short range of grape and canister shot from the war vessels they were attacking.

We now come to the history of the sealed packet which was deposited in the Corporation chest by M. Menard in 1733 and inspected by his executor in 1737. The endorsement on the packet directed that it should only be opened on the written request, jointly or severally, of M. Menard him-

self or of M. Jean Remy de Montigny and M. Solomon Penny, both of them Directors. On the 27th May, 1741, eight years after its deposition, the packet, on the demand of M. Penny, was opened in the presence of the Court. It was found to contain the draft of a codicil to the will of the late Madame la Duchesse de la Force, directing the disposition of the residue of her estate. The document was neither signed nor dated, but attached to it was a declaration dated 15th July, 1732, bearing the seal and signature of M. Menard and the signature of M. Jean Remy de Montigny, to the effect that the codicil was drawn up by them by the direction of the duchess. The documents were entrusted to M. Penny, with instructions to appeal to the Court of Chancery to pronounce for the validity of the codicil. At the following Court M. Penny reported that the appeal had been made and allowed, and he was desired to arrange with the executors, Messrs. Duperron and Rambouillet (both Directors of the Hospital), for giving effect to the codicil. The amount involved was considerable, about £5,400, but owing to certain life-interests it was long before the Corporation enjoyed the full benefit of the bequest.

I have already recorded that in 1719 Etienne Seignoret, one of the thirty-seven original Directors, bequeathed terminable annuities producing £70 per annum, to be employed so long as they lasted in apprenticing four refugee children annually. The benevolent scheme was in full operation during the period of which I am now treating. Young people, both boys and girls from among the refugee families, were apprenticed in nearly all cases to their co-religionnaires who had established themselves in London. Looking through the records of about twenty years I have traced the apprenticeship of some fifty boys and twenty girls. In many ways the notes of these apprenticeships are of extreme interest. On them could be based a paper overflowing with information concerning the early French Refugee settlers in London. They show, too, that "La Providence" had the young as well as the old among the refugee families under its care. These apprenticeship records generally indicate the birthplace, frequently London, of the young people and the town or district in France from which their parents came. Indeed they are among the few records we possess of the first English born children of the French Protestant refugees. They also show the trades and handicrafts which had been successfully followed in London by many of the refugees,



for only those who had gained something like an established position would have been accepted by the Court as social masters and mistresses. Incidentally also much light is thrown upon the occupations and addresses of some of the earlier Directors of the Hospital, light which has been otherwise vainly sought in other directions.

Of the apprenticeships I have noted the girls were bound to dressmakers, mantlemakers, mantuamakers (which is probably the same thing), ladies' tailors and hairdressers, clewstarchers, baby-linen makers, gold and silver lacemakers, and one to a watch-spring maker. The boys were apprenticed to jewellers, goldsmiths, watch and clockmakers, and to various others (who appear to be mounters or setters of precious stones), copperplate engravers, woodcarvers, apothecaries, cutlers, hatters, coopers, cabinetmakers, locksmiths, carpenters, coachmakers, weavers, a sculptor and a *perruquier*. One of the girls was apprenticed to her own mother, a dealer in cloth, and one of the boys to Pierre Romilly, the jeweller of King Street, St. Anne's, Soho, the father of Thomas Pierre Romilly, and of the more famous Sir Samuel Romilly, both of whom became in after years Directors of the Hospital.

One apprenticeship that I noted has a peculiar interest. In October, 1746, M. Michel le Heup (whose lineal descendant, Mr. H. J. T. Wood, was last year elected a Director of the Hospital) nominated Jean François Baumés, son of François Baumés, *Galerien*, apprentice to Jaques Picard, an engraver in the parish of St. Giles. It is more than probable that this apprenticeship resulted from M. Aufrère's mission to the poor galley slaves a few years earlier.

In the treatment of lunatics the first Directors of the French Hospital exhibited a very early instance—possibly they set a very early example—of kindness and sympathy, directed by medical skill, as opposed to the barbarous system which almost universally prevailed in their time. Even in this country the most savage and senseless cruelty towards the insane was practised until well into the nineteenth century.

When Rosalind in "As You Like It" declares that "It is merely a madness, and, I tell you, deserves a dark house and a whip as much as madmen do," she describes the sentence the treatment to which madmen were subjected a matter of course subjected in the days of Good Queen Bess, and much later. During Queen Anne's reign the spirit of philanthropy raised the great build of the Hospital for the care of the mentally afflicted.

more of a prison than a hospital, and the accounts one reads of its early management are simply appalling.

Great numbers of the French refugees arrived in this country with their reason impaired by the fearful trials through which they had passed, and many more, after bearing up for a time, fell into a melancholy or imbecile condition. The provision made at the French Hospital for these poor folk was at first of the usual fashion, a row of eighteen cells about 7 feet by 6 feet, awful chambers, apparently as bare as empty packing cases and open on one side to the weather. Tradition says that the poor lunatics were chained into their cells at night and that their only possible exercise in the day was to walk up and down a kind of *ruelle* or alley, about 140 feet long and 4 feet wide, which faced the open fronts of the whole row of cells. The following extract from the Minutes of the Quarterly Committee held on 25th May, 1719, only seven months after the opening of the Hospital, sheds a lurid light on the treatment which even merciful men then thought good enough for the insane :—

“ Having noticed that the lunatics have fresh straw only once a week, which is not sufficient for even ordinary cleanliness, the Committee direct that clean straw shall be given to all twice a week, and even oftener in exceptional cases ” !

Clean straw at least twice a week !

As early as 1737 we find the Court considering plans for the better accommodation and care of the insane, but the cells, or *les petites maisons*, as they were euphemistically called, lingered on through frequent complaints and occasional condemnation for nearly twenty years, when the poor lunatics were transferred to a new building carefully designed for its intended purpose. It is interesting to note that the erection of this building was postponed time after time for want of money, and that at last the work was done under the direct supervision of the architect and the steward, without the intervention of a master builder, piece by piece as money came in to purchase the materials and to pay the wages of the workmen employed. In this way about three years were spent in the erection of the building. I can find no record of the transfer of the poor lunatics from *les petites maisons* to their more comfortable quarters. They were probably removed gradually as the new rooms could be prepared for them.

It was not my intention in this paper to expose the faults and failings of our Huguenot ancestors, but really it has been

impossible to read through the early Hospital records, concluding that the penitential psalms were appropriately used by some of the French inmates in the beginning of the eighteenth century, and for whom they were originally written—

The first steward, and his sister who helped him, were both complete failures. They were in trouble to consider the needy or to show sympathy. They were frequently reproved for neglecting their inmates, and especially the insane people, who were dismissed with the promise of a speedy recovery, and would go quickly. It is only fair to say that the system under which they were engaged was to some extent responsible for their conduct. There were altogether five *pensionnaires* in the Hospital, and they received 3s. 6d. per head per week to cover all household expenses. Being the kind of people they were, the steward reduced to a fine art the *allongement*, not only of the inmates, but of all household necessities and utensils. The steward, glad to say, went out with the first stewardess, and again found entrance.

Four kinds or forms of punishment applied to inmates incurred by the early inmates of the Hospital were:

1. To be put on bread and water for one day.
2. To be kept within the Hospital bounds for one day.
3. To be remitted to *les petites maisons* for three or four days.
4. To be expelled the Hospital.

I have found instances of all these punishments. The first for a mild case of gluttony and insobriety, the second for more serious cases of that kind, the third for cases of blasphemy and the taking of God's name in vain, and the fourth for theft. One poor man who frequently threatened to throw his house down, and who made himself terribly troublesome to his fellow-inmates, was transferred to *les petites maisons*. The Committee are careful to record) as a punishment. The sentence in one case is of interest, and seems to throw a side-light on the treatment of lunatics. Susanne L'Hebert (she will not mention her name) stole a petticoat from her fellow-inmates, and she was ordered by the Committee to be confined for three days and fed on bread and water. She does not expressly say "that those three days

passed in *les petites maisons*, but, as in all other cases of detention the word *enfermer* or *renfermer* is used, I fear that this poor woman must have expiated her offence in those dreadful cells, and that to be "*enchaîné*" was the common and most pitiful lot of their usual occupants.

In the old French Hospital the *ménage* included both a brewhouse and a bakery. An early baker was summoned before the Committee charged with making exceedingly bad bread and with being abusive to the steward when called to account. With many excuses the baker admitted the charge, and with much humility he pleaded forgiveness, promising improvement in his baking and amendment in his conduct; so after being seriously reprimanded and warned that the steward must be implicitly obeyed by the baker he was given another chance. But this baker had an injudicious wife, who appeared before the next meeting of the Committee to defend her husband from what she declared to be the groundless charges of the steward and inmates, and she was so violent and so abusive in her conduct that the apparently frightened Committee determined at once to change their baker.

It has been left to the Directors of the present day to carry into execution one of the earliest projects of the Court. So far back as July, 1737, it was resolved that part of the ground then newly acquired from the City of London should be prepared as a cemetery for the interment of those who died in the Hospital. Unexpected difficulties were evidently met with, for five years later (1742) the Court resolved that Counsel's opinion should be taken as to the *right* to form a cemetery in the new ground, and in the same year M. Du Plessis on his appointment as Chaplain was required to promise to perform the burial service there over deceased inmates if the Directors' intention were carried out. I am unable to find either the Counsel's opinion or any reference to it in the Court Minutes, but a resolution passed in 1745 that a large part of the new land be enclosed as a promenade for the inmates suggests that the opinion was unfavourable and the intention to form a cemetery was dropped.

More than a century later, when the Hospital had been removed to Victoria Park, this question was again raised by the late Mr. Roumieu, the Hon. Architect, who proposed that a plot of ground in the City of London Cemetery at Ilford should be purchased and enclosed for the interment of the Hospital inmates, and marked by a suitable monument.

After much consideration the project was reluctantly

abandoned, on account of the Hospital being unable to meet the very high fees demanded for the purchase of the ground and for every inch of area.

The proposals of Mr. Roumieu were rejected. Mr. Dibdin, the present energetic Honorary Secretary, more fortunate in his opportunity, obtained the sanction of the Court. The ground has now been enclosed and suitably planted, and already the graves of the French refugees and aged descendants of the French refugees are there their last resting-place. The monument is to be added.

In the quarter of a century following the death of Philippe Menard many accomplished and successful men were elected Governors and Directors of the French Hospital.

The Church, the Diplomatic and Civil Service, the Law, Medicine and Surgery, as well as the Arts and Commerce, were all represented at the Hospital, and men of great distinction.

In the history of the French Hospital many instances have occurred of fathers and sons sitting together on the same bench. At present there are four such, the latest, in the record, results from the election last October of a Fellow of your Society, as a Director.

Not many years ago the Hospital narrowly escaped the extinction of three generations of one family on the Council. At that time, for Sir Henry Peek, your late President, was a Director, proposed his grandson for election. The proposal, however, was withdrawn, as the young gentleman was still at Eton, and not at the Hospital, at which even the youngest of the Directors are to be found for advice and counsel in the administration of the Hospital's affairs. But the circling years will soon bring the coming of age of Sir Wilfrid Peek, Bart., and we hope that the family motto "Le Maître Vient" will find its appropriate application. The pleasant meetings and associations which gather round the names of Sir Henry and Sir Cuthbert Peek at the French Hospital will be revived and continued.

The list of preachers of the anniversary sermons annually affords much information as to the Pastors and Ministers at that time attached to the various French Churches in London, and the amounts of the annual collections, without interest.

Of the Directors and Preachers I have prepared annotated lists which are added as appendices to this paper.

The legacies bequeathed to the Corporation during the period under review were both numerous and considerable. They were chiefly left by Directors or by their immediate relations. The letter L is prefixed to the names of the Directors whose legacies I have traced. The following extract from the Minutes of the General Court held 12th April, 1775, confirms the opinion I had already formed that many bequests by Directors were not at that period specifically recorded :—

“ Clauses. Testamentaires.	{	Lecture a été faite des clauses, des Testaments relatifs aux Legs faits a cette Corporation.”
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Many matters of almost purely domestic interest are chronicled in the Court Minute-books and other Archives between the years 1737 and 1760, but they are not of sufficient importance to be noted in a paper on the general history of the French Hospital.

## APPENDIX I.

In this appendix the list of the Governors and Directors is carried back to the date of the Charter, because some of the thirty-seven original Directors and many of those elected before 1737 survived to the period of which this paper treats. Those Directors who bequeathed legacies to the Hospital are marked L. The dates of birth and death and the addresses of Directors are given where known. The latter are chiefly taken from a list printed in 1783, which shows that at that date twenty-one Directors who had been elected before 1760 were still living, and that the number of Directors besides the Governor, Deputy-Governor, Treasurer and Secretary was 123. Directors whose armorial bearings are emblazoned in the Court-room are marked A.

### DIRECTORS NAMED IN THE CHARTER.

#### *Governor :*

Born.	Died.	
1648	1720	L.A. Henri de Massue, Marquis de Ruvigny, Comte de Galway (a).

#### *Deputy-Governor :*

1647	173 <sup>9</sup>	L.A. Jaques Baudoin (b).
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(a) V. Haag's *La France Protestante*, art. Massue, and *Biographie Universelle*, art. Galloway; also Agnew's *French Protestant Exiles*. Fine portrait in Court-room.

(b) Buried in Mount Nod Cemetery, Wandsworth. Mural tablet with inscription in St. Mary's, Aldermary. For armorial bearings and will r. *Proceedings*, vol. i., p. 311.



*The Thirty-seven Directors Nan*

Born.	Died	
	1737	L.A. Philippe Menard, minis
	1749	A. Louis Saurin, ministre
		A. Henri Oger de Ste. Col
	1730	Claude Scoffier, ministre
	1720	Nicolas de Rambouillet
	1728	A. Guy de Vicoise, Baron
	1732	L.A. Jacob Philippe de la Mo
1668	1761	A. David Montolieu, Baron
	172 <sup>6</sup> <sub>9</sub>	L.A. Moïse Pujolas (i).
		François de Pontereau.
		Louis de Gaillard.
	172 <sup>9</sup> <sub>1</sub>	L.A. Louis Royrand de Clouse
	1746	Jaques Robethon.
		Albert de Lande
	1733	L. René de la Combe de Cl
		Pierre Reneu.
	1719	L. Estienne Seignoret (k).
		Jean le Clerc de Virly.
	1739	Louis Tudert (l).
1650	1728	L. René Baudoin (m).
1671	1753	Jaques Louis Berchère (n)
	1739	L.A. Paul du Four (o).
	1739	A. Pierre Champion de Crespi
		Jean de Rossières.
1667	173 <sup>6</sup> <sub>7</sub>	Thomas Le Heup (q).

(a) Exôr of Jaques de Gastigny. Chaplain  
his death in 1737. For biography v. *La France*

(b) (c) (d) V. list of preachers of Anniversary

(e) In 1716 he and his wife, Louise Magdala  
the Royal Bounty of £160. At his death the fu  
the widow. It apparently ceased after 1731.

(f) Governor 1722-1728.

(g) Of St. Anne's, Westminster. One of  
pensioner of the Royal Bounty.

(h) For biography v. Haug and Agnew. Bur  
worth.

(i) Elected Governor in 1728; held office for le

(j) From Poitou. Elected Treasurer 1718.

(k) Founded apprenticeships, v. *Proceedings*, v  
Got, "a french lady worth £40,000" (*Gent. Ma*  
Hospital. V. Seignoret pedigree, by H. Wagner, 1

(l) Of Hoxton. Buried in Dutch Church, Austle

(m) Brother of Jaques Baudoin, first Deputy-Go

(n) Buried in St. Helen's, Bishopsgate. His fat

(o) Treasurer 1719-1739. For Madame Du Fo

paper.

(p) Son of Claude de Crespigny, the refugee,  
St. Mary-le-bone; uncle of Philippe de Crespigny

(q) F. Le Heup pedigree by J. H. T.

Born.	Died.	Solomon Penny (a).
		Pierre Marchant.
1732	L.	Benjamin Baronneau.
		Thomas Thomas.
		Philippe Fruchard (b).
1745		Pierre Jaques du Désert-Dieu.
		Jean Philippe Charles.
1667		Jaques Tabart (c).
		Jaques Devaux.
1743	L.	Pierre Triquet.
1731	L.	Jean Perigal (d).
1745	L.	Pierre Cabibel (e).

*Elected Directors :*

Born.	Elected.	Died.	
	1719	1729	L. Albert Le Blanc, ministre (f).
	"	1738	L. Pierre Seignoret (g).
	"	1739	L.A. Paul Buissiere (h).
1645	1720	1721	Philibert Hervart, Baron d'Huningue (or Hunninghen) (i).
	"	174 $\frac{1}{2}$	Jaques Gaultier (j).
	"	1733	L. Jaques Roussy.
	1721	1722	L. Jean de Robethon, Conseillier Privé (k).
	"	1734	Charles Lebas (l).
	"		Jean L'Espinasse de Fonvive.
	"	1731	Jean de Montledier.
	"		Henri Guinand (m).
	"		Jaques Molinier.
	"	1743	Réné de Boyville.
	"	1733	L. Philippe Moreau.
	1723	1741	Moïse Rigail.

(a) Of Inner Temple, Solicitor. In January, 174 $\frac{1}{2}$ , the Court presented 50 guineas to him for his great services (as Honorary Solicitor), spread over many years, out of which a debt of £28 due to the Treasurer was to be paid. Mr. Penny paid the debt, and gave the balance to the poor of the Hospital.

(b) Of the firm of Fruchard & Reynolds, lightermen and dealers in coales at the Golden Heart, next Joyners' Hall, near College Hill, Thames Street (v. Bill-head, 1736).

(c) A "Marchand-Drapier," he married Anne Perigny; son left legacy to Hospital.

(d) V. "Some Account of the Perigal Family," London, 1887.

(e) Deputy-Governor 1720-1739; Governor 1739-1745. In partnership with Benjamin Baronneau in Bond Court in the silk trade.

(f) Minister of St. Martin's-in-the-Fields, afterwards Rector of Halsall, co. Lancaster; "Chapellain to my Lady Moon," v. Court Minutes.

(g) Nephew of Etienne Seignoret; preached Anniversary Sermon 1723.

(h) Governor 1729-1739.

(i) Governor 1720; gave £4,000 to the Hospital; died at Southampton.

(j) Merchant of Lime Street Square; Treasurer 1740-5; Governor 1745-8. Widow left legacy to Hospital.

(k) Fleed to Holland, and coming to England with a Prince of Holland became his Private Secretary; naturalised 15th April, 1693; later Domestic Secretary and Councillor to George I. as Elector of Hanover; Governor 1721.

(l) His only daughter, Rebecca, became first Countess of Harcourt.

(m) Deputy-Governor 1739-1756.



# HUGUENOT

		<i>Elected</i>
<i>Elected.</i>	<i>Died.</i>	
1723	1740	Cl.
"	"	Ant.
"	1735	L. Jean
1724	"	Ged.
1725	1751	Ant.
"	"	Isaac
"	"	And.
"	1758	Isaac
1726	"	Louis
"	"	Jean
"	"	Jean
1727	1731	L. Pierre
1728	1739	Etienn.
1729	"	Jaques
"	"	A. Charles
"	1739	L. Charles
"	"	Jean P.
"	"	A. Jean M.
1730	"	Jean B.
1731	"	Jaques
"	{ After } { 1774 }	L. A. Thomas
"	"	Josias L.
"	"	Jean Del.
"	"	Louis Bel.
"	1700	Pierro S.
1732	"	L. A. Claude D.
"	"	Jaques de
"	"	Guy de V.
"	1788	L. Jean de B.
1734	"	Jaques Phi.
"	"	Isaac de B.
"	"	Samuel La

- Of St. Anne's, Westminster. Prince's mother left £50 to Hospital.
- A Lisbon merchant. Son left leg.
- Of Duke Street, St. James's. Got 0 pension from Royal Bounty.
- Antoine Gedeon de Rambouillet, mbouillet, Seigneur de la Sablière, one of
- A Lisbon merchant.
- For biographical sketch v. Haag, 5, 1730, 1734. An active Director for
- Preached Anniversary Sermon 1726
- Married Anne Morin, niece to Claude
- A barrister in good practice, v. Agne
- His last attendance at a Court Octo
- Of Cannon Street. Deputy-Govern
- Jean Robert de Bechevel de la Motte Jacob Philippe de la Motte Blagny, one of, and a pensioner of the Royal Bounty.

*Elected Directors—(continued) :*

Born.	Elected.	Died.	
	1734	1765	Philippe de Crespigny (a).
	1735		Alexandre Forrester.
	"		Pierre Tirel.
	"		Daniel Thouvois.
	"	1750	A. Jean Bosanquet (b).
	1736	1788	Daniel Cornelis de Beaufort, ministre (c).
	"		Jean Le Quesne, chevalier.
	"	1746	Jean Chalié (d).
	"		Pierre Thomas.
	"	1754	L. Pierre Deschamps (e).
	1737	1749	Amand Allonhé Duperron (f).
	"		L. Jaques Dulamon.
	"		Moyse Barnege.
	1738		Jaques Binet.
	"	1742	L. René de Comarque, M.D. Camb. (g).
	"		Charles La Porte.
	1740		Pierre Auguste Samson.
	"		Gabriel Fouace.
	"	1752	L. Charles de Sailly.
	"	{ 1764 }	Louis Dejean, colonel (h).
	"	{ Dublin }	
	"	1741	Pierre de la Primaudaye, captain (i).
	"		Jaques Gastine.
	"		Claude Binet.
	"		Pierre Lapierre.
	"		Edouard Ravenel.
1677	1741	1759	L.A. Pierre Gaussen (j).
	"	1781	L. Jean Buissière (k).
	"		Jaques Massé.
	"		Jean Antoine Loubier (l).
	"	1786	Claude Bosanquet.
	"	1749	Michel Le Heup (m).

(a) Notary public; nephew of Pierre Champion de Crespigny, one of the thirty-seven original Directors; married in St. Paul's Cathedral to Ann Fonnerneau; secretary 1737 to his death in 1765.

(b) "En prison a Dunkerque pour cause de religion en 1695," in which year he came to England; naturalised 1708, v. Bosanquet pedigree.

(c) V. Haag and Agnew. Portrait in Library. Preached Anniversary Sermon 1735.

(d) V. Chalié pedigree, by Henry Wagner.

(e) His son also left a legacy to Hospital.

(f) Exor of Philippe Menard, "Departed for parts beyond the seas," August, 1741.

(g) Physician to the Hospital.

(h) Portrait in Court-room and engraved portrait in Committee-room.

(i) A pensioner from the Royal Bounty, v. Gaultier pedigree, by H. Wagner; died at Carthage.

(j) Treasurer 1745-1756; Deputy-Governor 1756-1759; v. Gaussen pedigree, also Haag.

(k) Governor 1776-1781.

(l) Of East Greenwich. His widow left £50 to the Hospital.

(m) Son of Thomas Le Heup, one of the first thirty-seven.

Note.—In 1742 it was resolved to limit the number of Directors to sixty, and with one exception (in 1743) none were elected until 1747.

*Elected Directors—(continued) :*

Born.	Elected.	Died.	
	1742		Pierre Le Maitre (a).
	"	1797	A. François Duroure (b).
	"	1762	Jaques Godin (c).
	1743	1779	L.A. André Girardot-Buissieres (d).
1718	1747	1776	Estienne David Ravaud (e).
1717	"	1769	Jean Gignoux (f).
	"	1780	Estienne Teissier (g).
	1748	1754	Jean Jullian (h).
1679	"	1770	L.A. Jean Ligonier, Général Chevalier du Bain (Comte Ligonier) (i).
	1749		Joseph Pouchon.
	"		Jaques Fruchard.
	"		Nicholas Jourdain.
	"		Jaques Hays.
	"		Pierre Dutens.
	1750	1770	L. Estienne Mounier (j).
	"		Jean David.
	1751		Isaac Roberdeau.
	"		Anthoine Colombiès.
1691 or 1692	1752	1757	Abraham Castres (k).
	"	1783	L.A. Jean Jaques Majendie, D.D. (l).
	"		Pierre Garnault.
	"	1782	A. Samuel de Pechel, Maître en Chancellerie (m).
	1753	1776	L. Arthur de Villettes (n).
	"		Jean Luc Landon.
	"		Abraham De la Mare.

(a) Tutor to Mdle. Marie Roussel, v. Court Minutes, January, 1740.

(b) Secretary 1765-1785; Deputy-Governor 1785-1797; son of Scipio Duroure, to whom and to his brother, Alexander François Duroure, he erected a mural tablet in the east cloister of Westminster Abbey, v. Col. Chester's *Registers of Westminster*. His sister left a legacy to the Hospital.

(c) Of Spital Square. Treasurer 1756-1762; married daughter of Daniel Alavoine, niece of Peter Alavoine, Director 1761.

(d) Deputy-Governor 1768-1779. His wife also left a legacy to the Hospital.

(e) V. Seignoret pedigree by H. Wagner.

(f) V. pedigree of Gignoux and Vignoles by H. Wagner.

(g) Married Elizabeth, daughter of Jean Antoine Loubier, elected Director 1741.

(h) V. Jullian pedigree by H. Wagner.

(i) Governor 1748-1770. Two portraits (one equestrian, presented by himself) in Court-room; engraved equestrian portrait after Reynolds in Committee-room; monument in Westminster Abbey. For biography v. Haag; Agnew, *National Biography*, etc.

(j) Founded apprenticeships, v. By-Laws.

(k) Envoy Ext. at Court of Lisbon; died at Lisbon 2nd May, 1757.

(l) Of Holles Street. For biography v. Haag, Agnew, etc.

(m) V. history of the De Pechels or Pechell family, by Henry Pechell, Lewes, 1875; also Gaultier pedigree.

(n) H.M. Minister to the Court of Turin and to the Confederate States of the Swiss Cantons; died at Bath, v. Agnew.

*Elected Directors—(continued):*

Born.	Elected.	Died.	
1717	1754	1775	L. Ruvigny de Cosne, colonel (a).
	"		Daniel Pilon (b).
	"		David Delavau.
	1755		Jean Pigou.
	"		Simon Dalbiac.
	"	1788	L. Pierre Gaussen, jun. (c).
	"	1766	L. Pierre Auber (d).
	1756		Jean Dargent.
	"		Estienne Guyon.
	"	1774	Matthieu Loubier (e).
	"		Henri Guinand (f).
	"		Daniel Vautier.
	"		Pierre Triquet.
1722	"	1791 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub>	David André.
1701	"	1785	A. Jacob Albert (g).
	"	1776	L. Charles Molinier.
	1757	1786	Daniel Vialars.
	"	1771	L. Jaques Martel.
	"	1794	L. Jean De la Mare (h).
	"	1770	L. Pierre Deschamps.
	1758	*	Giles Godin.
	"	1796	L. Berchere Baril.
	"	1776	L. Jean Deschamps.
	"	†	Simon Dalbiac, jun. (i).
	1759	1776	L. Louis Charles Montolieu, colonel (j).
	"	*	Pierre Cazalet.
	"	1778	L. Zacharie Agace (k).
	"	1769	Pierre Motteux (l).
	"	†	Jean Sabatier.
	"		André Reignier.
1735	"	1793	L. Pierre Henri Alexandre de la Primaudaye (m).

(a) Secretary to the French Embassy, afterwards at the Spanish Court.

(b) Gave £100 to Hospital 1753.

(c) Of St. Helen's, Bishopsgate. Treasurer 1779-1789; Governor of Bank of England 1777-1778; son of Deputy-Governor who died 1759.

(d) Widow also left legacy.

(e) Grandson of Jaques Gaultier, Governor 1745.

(f) Son of Henri Guinand, Deputy-Governor, who died 1756.

(g) Of Homerton. Treasurer 1762-1779; Deputy-Governor 1779-1785.

(h) Sister and brother also left legacies.

(i) Son of Simon Dalbiac, elected Director 1755.

(j) Son of Baron de St. Hippolyte, one of the first thirty-seven Directors. By his marriage with Elizabeth, granddaughter of Thomas Le Heup (another of the thirty-seven), several of our English aristocracy trace Huguenot descent, v. Le Heup pedigree.

(k) Two brothers—also Directors—left legacies to the Hospital.

(l) Of Charterhouse Square. Surgeon; son of Pierre Antoine Motteux, the translator of *Don Quixote*; married in 1750 Miss West. For book-plate v. *Ex Libris Journal*, ix., p. 155.

(m) Son of Captain Peter de la Primaudaye, Director 1740, and brother of Francis, Director 1761.

\* Living in 1783.

† Died before 1783.

*Elected Directors—(continued):*

Born.	Elected.	Died.	
1707	1760	1785	Gedeon Gosset (a).
	"	†	François Desmaretz (b).
1723	"	1809	Pierre Nouaille, jun. (c).
	"	†	Claude Crespigny (d).
	"	†	Jean Boucher.
	"	*	Jean De Vaynes (e).

(a) V. Gosset pedigree and paper on "A Family of Modellers in Wax," by Mary H. Gosset (*Proceedings of Huguenot Society*, vol. iii.).

(b) Son of Claude Desmaretz; Deputy-Governor 1759-1763.

(c) Of Greatnesse, Sevenoaks. Silk manufacturer. Engraved portrait, from a painting by Sir Thomas Lawrence, in Committee-room. Married 1760 Miss de la More of Sevenoaks, *v. Gent. Mag.*

(d) Son of Philippe de Crespigny; Secretary 1737-1765.

(e) Engraved portrait in Committee-room.

\* Living in 1783.

† Died before 1783.

*APPENDIX II.*

The Anniversary of the Hospital was for many years celebrated by a service in the chapel followed by a sermon, after which a collection was made for the benefit of the institution.

The following is a list of the preachers and of the offertories from the opening of the Hospital in 1718 until 1760, so far as they can be gathered from the Court and Committee Minute-books. G indicates that the preachers were attached to the associated churches of Glasshouse Street, Leicester Fields, Le Tabernacle and Ryder Court, *v. Proceedings*, vol. iii., p. 415.

Date.	Collection.	Preacher.	Remarks.
	£ s. d.		
1718	78 14 1	Philippe Menard, minister of the French Chapel Royal, St. James's.	In this year the chapel was opened on 12th November, and the dedication sermon preached by M. Philippe Menard, the first Chaplain and Secretary.
1719		In July, 1719, the Court resolved that an annual sermon should be preached in aid of the charity, and M. Louis Saurin was nominated for 1720.	
1720	95 6 3	Louis Saurin.	Director; minister of the French Church, Threadneedle Street, afterwards Dean of St. Patrick's, Armagh.
1721	65 8 10	G. Henri Oger de Ste. Colome.	Director.

Date.	Collection.	Preacher.	Remarks.
	£ s. d.		
1722	70 7 6	G. Claude Scoffier.	Director.
1723	121 15 0	G. Albert le Blanc.	Director ; also Rector of Halsall, co. Lancaster.
1724	140 8 6	G. de Besombres.	
1725	227 13 6	G. Israel Antoine Aufrère, ministre de la Savoye.	At the following Court M. Aufrère was invited to become a Director of the Hospital, and, on his assenting, he was unanimously elected, and continued one of the most active members of the Court until his death in 1758. For biography r. Haag and Agnew.
1726	147 4 6	G. Pierre de Tascher.	
1727		de la Motte.	Ministre de l'Eglise de la Savoye.
1728		Philippe Menard.	Secretary.
1729		G. Henri de Ste. Colome.	Director.
1730		G. Israel Antoine Aufrère.	Director.
1731		G. Jerome David Olivier.	Qy. father of Daniel Olivier ; elected Director 1765.
1732		G. Paul or Samuel de la Douespe.	Ministre de l'Eglise de Threadneedle Street.
1733	Account-book	Jaques Reneau Boullier.	Pasteur des Eglises Unies.
1734	missing.	G. Israel Anthoine Aufrère.	M. Aufrère preached in place of M. de Beaufort, ministre de la Savoye, who was prevented by illness.
1735		Daniel Cornelis de Beaufort.	Director ; ministre de la Savoye.
1736		G. Samuel Couderc.	
1737		G. Paul Conventant.	
1738	77 6 0	Boyet or Bouhier.	
1739	95 16 6	Jean Jaques Majendie.	
1740	53 1 0	Eynard.	
1741	58 10 6	Bernard.	
1742	70 13 6	Robineau.	
1743	42 0 6	G. J. Pierre Stehelin.	
1744	66 17 0	Jaques Serces.	Minister of French Chapel Royal, St. James's. Dr. Jean Louis Petit (elected Director 1773) married his only daughter, Lætitia. Their son, Louis Hayes Petit, and other members of the family became Directors.
1745	52 2 0	G. J. Pierre Stehelin.	

Date.	Collection.	Preacher.	
	£ s. d.		
1746	55 15 10	Jaques Duplessis.	Chaplain.
1747	45 19 0	Cæsar de Missy.	
1748	55 1 0	G. David Durand.	
1749	54 16 6	G. Louis Marcombes.	
1750	41 6 0	Jean Deschamps.	
1751	50 9 6	G. Jacob Bourdillon.	
1752	59 2 6	Samuel Mausy (a).	
1753	69 8 0	Gédeon Patron (b).	
1754	83 15 0	Fr. Louis Debons.	
1755	105 15 6	B. F. Du Boulay (a).	
1756	108 14 0	J. G. Mieg (a).	
1757	109 7 6	François Gautarel (a).	
1758	168 11 4	David Henry Durand, le neveu (c).	
1759	123 7 7	Henri de Rocheblave (c).	
1760	113 0 2	Palairret (c).	

(a) Ten guineas sent by the Princesses by the hand of Hippolite.

(b) Agnew, vol. i., p. 74, says that on this day the collection was £1,250. Unfortunately the statement is not borne out by the books.

(c) Ten guineas sent by H.R.H. the Princess Amélie to the Directors (probably still M. le Baron de St. Hippolyte) and infirmity, was unable to attend personally the service.

## MISCELLANEA.

### *Address to President Loubet.*

THE following Address from the Governor and Directors of the French Hospital was forwarded to the French Embassy for presentation to President Loubet on the occasion of his recent visit to England :—

A MONSIEUR

MONSIEUR EMILE LOUBET,

PRÉSIDENT DE LA RÉPUBLIQUE FRANÇAISE.

MONSIEUR LE PRÉSIDENT,

We, the Governor and Directors of the Hospital for Poor French Protestants and their Descendants residing in Great Britain, desire to join most heartily in the welcome which is being offered to you by the whole British nation.

It is, indeed, peculiarly fitting that, as the lineal descendants and representatives of the French Protestants who found refuge in this country after the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes, we should take part in this tribute of regard for yourself and of goodwill towards the French people, to whom we are still bound by so many ties of personal affection and interest. Through many generations of exile we have never lost touch with the land of our forefathers, nor have we, while appreciating with intense gratitude our privileges as naturalised Englishmen, failed in any degree in our loving admiration for La Belle France.

The French Hospital, founded by French Protestant refugees who had become naturalised British subjects, was incorporated by Royal Charter in 1718. Its list of Governors and Directors forms a most interesting connecting link between the two countries, and it contains many names which, during the past 185 years, have been held in honour alike in France and in England. The Hospital or Hospice has also



afforded through all these years a peaceful home for poor and aged French Protestants and their descendants.

We trust that in the providence of God your visit to these shores may help to unite our two great nations in true and lasting concord, and that they may ever be found marching together in the van of civilisation, of progress and of freedom.

Sealed with the Seal of the Corporation at a General Court held on the 4th July, 1903.

A. GIRAUD BROWNING,  
*Deputy Governor.*



R. W. DIBDIN,  
*Secretary.*

### *The Wanty Family.*

THE well-known settlement of Huguenot refugees at Thorney has furnished Mr. Henry Peet, F.S.A., with material for an account of the Wanty family, with which his own became allied.<sup>1</sup> The name, as is often the case, was spelt in all sorts of ways, and it is almost superfluous to add that the form into which it ultimately crystallised is something remote from the original. The family, which originated in the Pays de l'Alleud—a name which carries the mind far back—took refuge in England in the sixteenth century, when their patronymic appears as "Wantier". But the earliest form in which it is found is stated to be "de Vantier," a form, we venture to suggest, possibly having its origin in "Venthie," a parish in the Pays de l'Alleud.

It would appear that some of the Wantys settled on the Yorkshire border, whence from the island of Axholme they afterwards migrated southwards to the region of the Bedford Level, whither also it is possible that others of the same name came from Canterbury to join them. But the subsequent emigration of members of the same family from Flanders, after the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes, was confined to various places in Denmark and Germany, none apparently coming to England. The English Wantys enjoyed a modest prosperity and became firmly rooted in the part of England where they still own land. A number of their wills, ranging in date between 1721 and 1875, are fur-

<sup>1</sup> Genealogical memoranda relating to the Huguenot family of de Vantier, *anglais* Wanty, collected and arranged by Henry Peet, F.S.A. Privately printed, 1902.



**ISAAC WANTY**  
OF THORNEY.



**JEAN WANTIER**  
OF LILLE.



**ESTIENNE WANTÉ**  
OF GRAVELINES.

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MEETING OF THE SESSION,  
1902-1903,

HELD AT

WINDSOR, VICTORIA STREET,  
WESTMINSTER,

MAY, 12TH NOVEMBER, 1902.

---

Esq., F.S.A., President, in the Chair.

---

Meeting held on 14th May were read

selected Fellows of the Society :—

on, M.A., Castelnau, Wimbledon.  
som Rectory, Uxbridge.

of Mr. Henry Peet, F.S.A., who was  
ch, 1901, was accidentally omitted on

l by Mr. Ernest Worman, M.A., on  
e University Library, Cambridge, re-  
and other Refugees".

tending a welcome to the refugees. In the background, to the left, is seen Colchester Castle ; on the right is the river Colne, with the three vessels contributed by Colchester to form part of the fleet which repelled the Spanish Armada. Beneath the main scene is a secondary picture showing the interior of a weaver's house ; the craftsman at his loom is copied from an old Colchester trade token ; his wife and children are going to receive the Dutch minister, who is entering the door. Through a window is seen All Saints' Church, which was set apart by the authorities as a place of worship for the use of the Dutch congregation. Beneath this picture are the arms of Colchester, with the motto, ' No Cross, no Crown,' and the following inscription :—

“ ‘ To keep in remembrance the hospitality extended by the town of Colchester to the Huguenot Refugees in the 16th and 17th Centuries ; and the establishment by them of the manufacture of “ Bays and Says ” which flourished for more than two hundred years to the great advantage of the inhabitants, this window was presented by *Wilson Marriage*, Portreeve of Colchester, A.D. 1901 ’.

“ On either side are shown the donor's arms and the badge of the Portreeve of Colchester—*viz.*, a raven.”

ORDINARY MEETING OF THE SESSION,  
1902-1903,

HELD AT

HOTEL WINDSOR, VICTORIA STREET,  
WESTMINSTER,

WEDNESDAY, 12TH NOVEMBER, 1902.

---

OWNING, Esq., F.S.A., President, in the Chair.

---

Minutes of the Meeting held on 14th May were read  
and approved.

Those named below were elected Fellows of the Society :—

John Barton, M.A., Castelnau, Wimbledon.  
Henry Denham, Denham Rectory, Uxbridge.

The name of Mr. Henry Peet, F.S.A., who was  
elected on 13th March, 1901, was accidentally omitted on

The paper was read by Mr. Ernest Worman, M.A., on  
"The Manuscripts in the University Library, Cambridge, re-  
fugees and other Refugees".

# THE HUGUENOT SOCIETY OF LONDON.

---

## *President.*

ARTHUR GIRAUD BROWNING, F.S.A.

## *Vice-Presidents.*

THE RIGHT HON. THE EARL OF RADNOR.

ROBERT HOVENDEN, F.S.A.

WILLIAM MINET, F.S.A.

WILLIAM WYNDHAM PORTAL, F.S.A.

## *Council.*

LIEUT. H. T. A. BOSANQUET, R.N.

LIEUT.-GENERAL STEPHEN H. E. CHAMIER, R.A., C.B.

T. C. COLYER-FERGUSON.

LIONEL CUST, M.V.O., F.S.A.

JOHN MARTINEAU FLETCHER.

HENRY GERVIS, M.D., F.R.C.P.

MAJOR-GENERAL M. W. E. GOSSET, C.B.

MAJOR-GENERAL E. RENOARD JAMES, R.E.

E. SYDNEY LUARD.

HENRY MERCERON.

JOSEPH HENRY PHILPOT, M.D., M.R.C.P.

WILLIAM CHAPMAN WALLER, F.S.A.

## *Treasurer.*

REGINALD ST. AUBYN ROUMIEU,

10 Lancaster Place, Strand, W.C.

## *Sec. Secretary.*

REGINALD S. FABER, F.S.A.,

90 Regent's Park Road, N.W.

## *Assistant Secretary.*

G. H. OVEREND, F.S.A.,

71 Stockwell Park Road, S.W.

## *Trustees.*

THE TREASURER,

CAPTAIN A. C. CHAMIER, F.S.A.

WILLIAM MINET, F.S.A., VP.

## *Printers.*

MESSRS. BARCLAY & CO.,

1 Bouverie Street, E.C.4.

**FIRST ORDINARY MEETING OF THE SESSION,  
1902-1903,**

**HELD AT**

**THE HOTEL WINDSOR, VICTORIA STREET,  
WESTMINSTER,**

**WEDNESDAY, 12TH NOVEMBER, 1902.**

---

**A. G. BROWNING, Esq., F.S.A., President, in the Chair.**

---

**THE** Minutes of the Meeting held on 14th May were read  
**and** confirmed.

The following were elected Fellows of the Society :—

**The Rev. John Barton, M.A., Castelnau, Wimbledon.**

**Mrs. Lathbury, Denham Rectory, Uxbridge.**

*Note.*—The name of Mr. Henry Peet, F.S.A., who was  
elected on 13th March, 1901, was accidentally omitted on  
p. 2.

A paper was read by Mr. Ernest Worman, M.A., on  
“ Manuscripts in the University Library, Cambridge, re-  
lating to Huguenots and other Refugees ”.



SECOND ORDINARY MEETING OF THE SESSION,  
1902-1903,

HELD AT

THE HOTEL WINDSOR, VICTORIA STREET,  
WESTMINSTER,

WEDNESDAY, 14TH JANUARY, 1903.

A. G. BROWNING, Esq., F.S.A., President, in the Chair.

THE Minutes of the Meeting held on 12th November, 1902,  
were read and confirmed.

The following were elected as Fellows of the Society :—

The City of Birmingham Free Library.

The Newberry Library, Chicago, U.S.A.

The Peabody Institute, Baltimore, U.S.A.

A paper was read by Dr. J. H. Philpot entitled "Annals  
of a Quiet Family (Lafargue)".

**THIRD ORDINARY MEETING OF THE SESSION, 1902-1903. 223**

**THIRD ORDINARY MEETING OF THE SESSION,  
1902-1903,**

**HELD AT**

**THE HOTEL WINDSOR, VICTORIA STREET,  
WESTMINSTER,**

**WEDNESDAY, 11TH MARCH, 1903.**

---

**R. HOVENDEN, Esq., F.S.A., Vice-President, in the Chair.**

---

**THE Minutes of the Meeting held on 14th January were  
read and confirmed.**

**The following were elected Fellows of the Society :—**

**Henry Gervis, Esq., M.D., F.R.C.P., The Towers, Hillingdon,  
Uxbridge.**

**Major John James de Zouche Marshall, R.A.M.C., Short-  
wood, Cromwell Road, Teddington.**

**A paper was read entitled " A Huguenot Miniature Painter,  
J. B. Massé," by Miss Ida H. Layard.**

CONVERSAZIONE  
AND  
NINETEENTH ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING.  
HELD AT  
THE ROYAL INSTITUTE OF PAINTERS IN  
WATER-COLOURS,  
WEDNESDAY, 13TH MAY, 1903.

A. G. BROWNING, Esq., F.S.A., President, in the Chair.

THE Minutes of the Meeting held on 11th March were read and confirmed.

The following were elected Fellows of the Society :—

Thomas Lancelot Archer, Esq., M.R.C.S., 82 Vincent Square,  
Westminster, S.W.

The Rev. Paul Fulcrand Delacour de Labilliere, 21 St.  
Michael's Road, St. Michael's Hamlet, Liverpool.

Gautier de Ste. Croix, Esq., 9 Lion Gate Gardens, Richmond,  
Surrey.

Miss Eleanor Frances Jourdain, St. Hugh's Hall, Oxford.

The Annual Report of the Council was read as follows:—

*Report of the Council to the Nineteenth Annual General  
Meeting of the Huguenot Society of London.*

Since the last Annual Meeting there has been a loss of sixteen Fellows, viz., six by death and ten by withdrawal, and a gain of eleven new Fellows, making a net loss of five.

The income for the year 1902 was £515 11s. 3d. and the expenditure £388 0s. 1d., leaving a balance on the 31st of December last of £127 11s. 2d.

The Society also stood possessed of £879 19s. 9d. 2½ per cent. Consols.

The issue of publications has been unfortunately delayed by the illness of Editors and other unavoidable causes, but several are now far advanced in the press and will be shortly completed. The first to appear will be the *Thorney Register*,

edited by Mr. Henry Peet and presented to the Society by the Duke of Bedford, to whom the Society's thanks have been duly expressed for his generous gift.

*Officers and Council for the Year May, 1903, to  
May, 1904 :—*

*President.*—Arthur Giraud Browning, F.S.A.

*Vice-Presidents.*—Robert Hovenden, F.S.A.; William Minet, F.S.A.; William John Charles Moens, F.S.A.

*Treasurer.*—Reginald St. Aubyn Roumieu.

*Honorary Secretary.*—Reginald Stanley Faber, F.S.A.

*Members of Council.*—George Beaumont Beeman; Lieut.-General Stephen H. E. Chamier, C.B., R.A.; T. C. Colyer-Fergusson; Lionel H. Cust, M.V.O., F.S.A.; The Rev. William Dawson; John Martineau Fletcher; Major-General M. W. E. Gosset, C.B.; Major-General E. Renouard James, R.E.; Henry Merceron; The Rev. G. W. W. Minns, F.S.A.; William Wyndham Portal, F.S.A.; William Chapman Waller, F.S.A.

The *Conversazione* was attended by a large number of Fellows and Visitors, about 400 in all, and a selection of old French music was rendered under the direction of M. Arnold Dolmetsch. The children of the French Protestant School of Westminster took part in the singing, and the arrangements in general were similar to those of the *Conversazione* of 1895. The Society was deeply indebted to the President for enabling it to carry out so successfully an entertainment which was thoroughly enjoyed by all present.

# ABSTRACT OF TREASURER'S ACCOUNT WITH THE HUGUENOT SOCIETY OF LONDON.

From the 1st of January to 31st of December, 1902.

1902.		1902.		CR.		£ s. d.	
Dr.		£ s. d.		By Cost of Printing and Distributing Publications		£ s. d.	
To Balance at Bankers' on the 31st day of December, 1901		126 13 10		( <i>Atiens in London</i> , etc.)		217 15 9	
" Subscriptions from 272 Fellows		285 12 0		" Printing Notices, etc.		8 10 6	
" " 6 " (in advance)		6 6 0		" Engraving and Issuing Diplomas		4 11 8	
" " 4 " (in arrear)		4 4 0		" Indexing <i>Atiens in London</i>		88 9 0	
" Entrance Fees from 15 Fellows		15 15 0		" Photographing Colotype, <i>Thorney Church Register</i> (Duke of Bedford's Contribution)		7 12 0	
" Composition Fees from 2 Fellows		21 0 0		" Hire of Rooms, Hotel Windsor (three meetings)		8 3 0	
" Sale of Publications		33 10 0		" Tea and Coffee after Meetings		4 11 6	
" One Year's Interest on Investment of Composition Fees, less Tax		22 10 5		" Stationery		5 16 0	
				" Repurchase of Publications of Huguenot Society		8 0 0	
				" Insurance		1 15 0	
				" Subscription to Congress of Archaeological Societies (1901-1902)		1 0 0	
				" Year Book of Scientific Societies		0 6 0	
				" Lithographing Copies of Coats of Arms		0 8 6	
				" Bookbinding		0 8 9	
				" Postages		19 5 11	
				" Bank Charges		0 1 6	
				" Assistant Secretary's Salary		50 0 0	
				" Cheque Book		0 5 0	
				" Cost of £22 8s. 10d., 2½ per cent. Consols (Brokerage <i>net</i> ), Investment of Composition Fees		21 0 0	
				" Balance at Bankers' on the 31st day of December, 1902		127 11 2	
						<u>£515 11 3</u>	

Examined with Vouchers and found correct.  
CHARLES F. ROUSSELET  
LOUIS H. LE BAILLY.

17th April, 1903.

Notes.—The Society stands possessed of a sum of £479 11s. 9d., 2½ per cent. Consols, representing the Investments of the Life Composition Fees received from 28 Fellows since its inauguration.

FIRST ORDINARY MEETING OF THE SESSION,  
1903-1904,

HELD AT

THE HOTEL WINDSOR, VICTORIA STREET,  
WESTMINSTER,

WEDNESDAY, 11TH NOVEMBER, 1903.

---

A. G. BROWNING, Esq., F.S.A., President, in the Chair.

---

THE Minutes of the Meeting held on 13th May were read and confirmed.

The following were elected Fellows of the Society :—

William Aumonier, Esq., 40 Lambolle Road, Hampstead, N.W.  
John Courroux, Esq., 45 St. George's Road, Eccleston Square, S.W.

Miss Mary E. Dalbiac, 42 Hogarth Road, Earl's Court, S.W.  
Arnaud Jean de Beaufort, Esq., 31 Victoria Road, W.

William Joseph Henry Le Fanu, Esq., East India United Service Club, S.W.

Arthur Magniac, Esq., The Hermitage, Ascot.

The Right Hon. the Earl of Radnor, Longford Castle, Salisbury.

Arthur Eugene McLellan Rolland, Esq., Durban, Natal.

Miss Mary S. Shuttleworth, 17 Chester Square, S.W.

Miss Henrietta L. Tuzo, The White House, Warlingham, Surrey.

Major Charles Vipian, D.S.O., Ford Bank, St. Leonard's-on-Sea.

The University of California, Berkeley, Cal., U.S.A.

A lecture was given by Mr. G. B. Beeman on "The Sites and Buildings of the French Refugee Churches in London," illustrated by lantern views and maps.

SECOND ORDINARY MEETING OF THE SESSION,  
1903-1904,

HELD AT

THE HOTEL WINDSOR, VICTORIA STREET,  
WESTMINSTER,

WEDNESDAY, 13TH JANUARY, 1904.

---

A. G. BROWNING, Esq., F.S.A., President, in the Chair.

---

THE Minutes of the Meeting held on 11th November, 1903,  
were read and confirmed.

The following were elected Fellows of the Society :—

Lieut. Henry T. A. Bosanquet, R.N., 70 Wynnstay  
Gardens, W.

Nicolas Edmund Tindal Bosanquet, Esq., Cowley, Uxbridge.  
Francis de Havilland Hall, Esq., M.D., F.R.C.P., 47 Wim-  
pole Street, W.

A paper was read on "The Huguenot Churches in the  
West of England: Plymouth, Barnstaple, Exeter," by Mr.  
Charles E. Lart.

THIRD ORDINARY MEETING OF THE SESSION, 1903-1904. 229

THIRD ORDINARY MEETING OF THE SESSION,  
1903-1904,

HELD AT

THE HOTEL WINDSOR, VICTORIA STREET,  
WESTMINSTER,

WEDNESDAY, 9TH MARCH, 1904.

---

A. G. BROWNING, Esq., F.S.A., President, in the Chair.

---

THE Minutes of the Meeting held on 13th January were read and confirmed.

The following were elected Fellows of the Society :—

Major-General Villiers Hatton, C.B., Headquarters House,  
Hong Kong.

William Griffith Richards, Esq., 4 Pall Mall East, S.W.

Henry Mills Skrine, Esq., Warleigh Manor, Bath.

A paper was read by Dr. J. H. Philpot on "Huguenots in the Bastille".



**On Manuscripts in the University Library, Cambridge,  
Relating to Huguenots and Other Refugees.**

By ERNEST WORMAN.

IN this paper the aims of the Huguenot Society, as found in the first volume of the *Proceedings*, have been interpreted in the very broadest manner; and, therefore, everything that had to do with the Reformed in France and the neighbouring countries has been included.

The subject is divided for convenience into the following sections: (1) MSS. Relating to Aliens in England; (2) On English Protection and Assistance to Foreign Protestants; (3) On La Rochelle and the Expedition to the Isle of Rhé; (4) On the History of the Reformed on the Continent; (5) Protestant Literature, etc.

A few items of earlier date than the influx of refugees into England have been included, merely to save them from the oblivion of a general catalogue, from which they can only be gathered by the long process of reading through several volumes.

Some have been printed, as the *Corpus Disciplinæ* of the Dutch Churches in 1645, and an account of the Rhé expedition in 1627; the fact is noted wherever an imperfect knowledge of the literature has served to discover it. The rest are inedited, unless they appear in some collection or under other titles.

The references after the bracket at the end of each item are to the Library class-marks.

(1) MSS. RELATING TO ALIENS IN ENGLAND.

1. *c.* 1530-40. Computus Rolls for Norwich Diocese of this date, which contain names of foreign origin, such as Goodwin Ingesbright, John Ffurbussheour, etc.

[Dd. 3. 61, 62.]

2. c. 1540-80. Following on a long account of the duties payable by *Merchant Strangers* to the Packer of the Port of London,—who was to unload their goods, carry to and from warehouses, and provide carriage if necessary—comes a list of about 350 names, being “The names of the Marchant Strangers I had to do with the time that I Executed the forsaide office of packershippe”. [Ee. 2. 129.

3. 1562, or soon after. “A Discourse with certen Reasons to move her Matie to Erecte ane Office for the Registringe of the names of all Straungers and ffree denyzons inhabitinge within this Realme Quarterlie and to prove that the same is necessarie and maye be graunted with a ffee incydent thereunto and be charged upon the sayd Straungers.”

[Hh. 6. 16.

The author says that the multitude of strangers is always prejudicial to the state and the cause of much sedition. The Hebrews were commanded to be courteous to, and also to beware of them. He brings Aristotle, and Roman testamentary law, and Geneva, and the old law of Englishrie to bear upon his argument. Under colour of distressed Straungers under her Maties happy and blessed reign have come in Anabaptists, Italian Athistes, Spanish Papists, the Pope's agents of all sorts.

Then he gives a list of common laws of England which “suspect” Strangers; purchase of land, grant of office, law of succession, letters of denization, lands of Priors Aliens, forfeiture of debts to the crown.

Then follows a list of statutes pointing the same way: cloth-making, retailing, apprentices, journeymen, house-holding, crafts, number of servants, surety to customs, double customs, subsidy tax.

These are followed by precedents for Her Matie's making new offices and appointing fees, and reasons why the new office is necessary, profitable, and even requisite for the strangers themselves.

4. c. 1572. A petition of Katherine Ryck of Norwich, wife of Edmond Rick, to the Lord Chief Justice, Sir Robert Catelyn, about some money matters and the threatened driving of her husband out of the country. [Ee. 2. 3478.

5. 1593, 7 Dec. A letter from Lord Burghley to his son recommending a Mr. Bellott resident at Caen, bearing a letter from the French Ambassador desiring that “a Mons<sup>r</sup> de St

Marie, a gentleman verie well affected to the Cause of religion and devoted to her matie " may have licence to buy and transport " a pece of Ordenance called a Culveringe of 4000 waighte ". The " Vidam " has also written in his favour.

[Ee. 3. 56<sup>12</sup>.

Jacques de Ste-Marie, seigneur des Agneaux, a wealthy man of Normandy, arrived at Rye, November 11, 1562. He was at Cotenton in 1554. He acted as Condé's lieutenant, and under him the Huguenots had taken Bayeux in 1562. He was in Jersey in 1568. See Schickler, *Les Églises du Refuge*.

6. 1595, after 22 Oct. A later letter from Lord Burghley speaks of his having heard from " Depe " of the Duke of Nevers' death, that " Balluyne lyved and is used in service to besege la fere " and that Soissons was rendered to the Huguenots.

[Ee. 3. 56<sup>60</sup>.

" Balluyne " was Henri, duc de Bouillon, Marshall of France.

7. 1604. The address of the Dutch Church in London to Bancroft on his translation to Canterbury, " when Mons<sup>r</sup> de la Fontain, Preacher of the French Church, made this speech to him ". Also the same minister's speech to Dr. Vaughan succeeding to the Bishopric of London. Vaughan's answer follows, exhorting the strangers not to pour oil on the flames of dissent that have been begun. The answer of De la Fontaine says that they are not desirous of mingling in these affairs.

[Mm. 1. 45, pp. 311-313.

Agnew (*Protestant Exiles from France*, 2nd ed., Vol. iii., p. 113) notices the address to Vaughan.

Robert Le Maçon, Sieur de la Fontaine, had been minister at Orléans from 1557 when the church there was founded. He remained at his post until imprisoned by the enemy in 1568, and returned to it at the first opportunity. But in 1574 he fled to England and was appointed minister of the French Church in London in that year.

In the address to Vaughan, against his mention of Utenhovius a marginal note says " An. 1568. In the liberties of Christ Church Lond. lived the widow of Utenhove [Dutch minister] with three children Borders with her, & others to the number of 14.—Tenants to the Duke's Grace."

8. 1618. Dispensation for Marc Antonio de Dominis late Archbishop of Spalato, that—<sup>though extraneous</sup>—he may be



come Dean of Windsor. He is spoken of as having left fatherland, promotions, dignity and archbishopric, and professing Evangelical truth here. [Mm. 1. 45, p. 187.]

He reached Dover in December 1616, and was lodged in Lambeth Palace: became Dean of Windsor 13 May 1618; and left England in 1623, having been Master of the Savoy during most of his stay in this country.

9. 1659. Aug. 28. The unprinted portion of a letter used by D'Oyly in his life of Sancroft. It is from John Cosin at Paris to Sancroft at Geneva.

" . . . Of Monsr. de Labadie, I am able to say little, but I have bin informed here, by those that knew him well, that he was never either Franciscan or Oratorian, but brought up a while among the Jesuites, whome he forsooke, & afterwards became a Chanoine in Picardie, & a zealous Preacher there; from whence upon Cardinall Richlieu's displeasure stirr'd up against him, he removed to Languedoc, & changing his Religion, first became Minister at Monnaban, then at Orange, from whence he was invited to the French Congregation at the Chappell by Somerset House in London: but being offered better conditions at Geneva, there you find him. The motives of his Conversion I have not seen, but they here that have both read them, & knew him well, though other wise they speak well of him, give no great commendations of his Books, & I shall not seek after them till my eyes be better able to read, then they now are. . . ."

[Mm. 1. 45, Baker's copy of Harl. MS. 3783. 104.]

Jean Labadie, who died in 1674 aged sixty-four, is noticed at some length in the *Biographie Universelle*.

10. c. 1660-65. Copy of a petition by Charles Ubaldini, Italian, to the Dean and Canons of St. Paul's, probably during Sancroft's period. The petitioner, born of noble parents, and a Scholar, has suffered for his Protestantism, having lain in the Inquisition five years together. He escaped and came to England, where he makes profession of Religion according to the Church of England. His destitution has been commiserated by several bishops, and he asks now for a contribution towards his maintenance in Oxford.

[Mm. 1. 45, Baker's copy of Harl. MS. 3785. 63.]

In Wood's *Fasti Oxonienses*, II., p. 289, under date of May 11, 1665, is the note "Charles Count Ubaldine of Savencano, an Italian nobleman, was entred student in the public library".

11. c. 1669-74. Works by Conrad Gleshinski "Germanus": (1) Alphabetum Slavonicum. (2) Divi Pauli ad Philem. Epistola. (3) Mundi Salvatoris Oratio. (4) Numeratio. [All in Slavonic.] [Ff. 6. 5.]

The dedication to Sir Philip Warwick "magno literatorum & Peregrinorum Fautori"—a trusted supporter of Charles I., memoirs of whose reign he wrote, as also a Discourse of Government—explains that Gleshinski took a great quantity of *tormenta bellica* to the borders of Polonia, not far from Moscow, by command of Prince Jeremia Wisniowiecki, and brought thence some leaves of the New Testament. There is a list of those that had encouraged him in England, chiefly, it seems, by giving him a meal. He writes during the reign of Michael Wisniowiecki (1669-74). Giovanni Torriano also dedicated the second part of his Italian Tutor to Sir P. Warwick.

12. 1687 or 1699. Letter from Henry Compton, Bishop of London, to Mr. Strype at "Loughton in Barking Deanery" [where Strype was minister, 1675-1713]. [Add. 5183.]

Has sent a number of briefs for the poor French Protestants sufficient for every parish in the Deanery, and asks him to disperse them, and on the first opportunity to pay them into the Chamber of London, returning the duplicates to himself. Speedy care of greatest necessity. No date, but perhaps the same as the next item. Twenty briefs were enclosed.

13. 1699. Nathaniel Parkhurst to Bishop More of Ely in answer to the brief on behalf of the Protestants and other matters.

Has received "yo<sup>r</sup> Lordship's printed Letter with his Maties Briefe in behalf of the much afflicted protestants, and read yo<sup>r</sup> moving Arguments to my Congregation, adding some of my owne in one of my sermons upon the Fasting-day, and encouraged a liberal contribution by my owne Example. But the product of all is not so much as I hoped for. But may this mite which the Churchwardens bring with them be accepted by the God and Father of that afflicted people!" Dated Yoxford, June 7, 1699.

[Dd. 3. 6451.]

14. c. 1700 (?). Latin Petition of "Le Sauvage, minister," to the Archbishop of Canterbury, with regard to the Beneficentia Regia. He only received £24 and ought to have



£33. He is sixty-eight years old, his wife is worn out with work, they having no servant, and the money said to belong to them is held in trust for his wife's brother, a young man who has been unable to reach England at present.

[Dd. 3. 64<sup>37</sup>.

There is no date to this, and perhaps it belongs to just half a century before, as there was a minister at Southampton, Daniel Sauvage, who was admitted to the "Cène" in that church in 1596, and died 21 June 1655.

15. c. 1702. "The humble Peticōn of the Minister, Churchwardens, & other the Congregation of the High German Lutheran Protestants of the Savoy," to Queen Anne, asking for continuance of the chapel and minister's apartment in the Savoy which they had obtained in 1698 from William III.

[Mm. 6. 57<sup>62</sup>.

16. 1713, Aug. 16. A letter from Ch. La Motte to Strype. Asking about one Bertie, mentioned in Strype's works, who was an exile in "Vezel" and whose children kept the name *Peregrine* in memory of the good reception he found there.

[Add. 7<sup>86</sup>.

"My direction," says the writer, "is M. de la Mothe a french minister in St. Martin's Lane next door to a french pewterer near Charing Cross."

The Berties were fugitives from the Marian Persecution; and Peregrine Bertie after his return led the second army sent by Elizabeth to aid Henry of Navarre. See also No. 52.

17. 1718, Dec. 4. A letter to Strype from a Madame Seignoret (Rebecca, daughter of Mr. Mauduit at the Heralds' Office), who had formerly been in Strype's parish of Low Layton, and had married the merchant Seignoret, who had had severe losses and also had been cut off by his rich friends in St. Paul's Churchyard because he had married a woman without a fortune. There is a note, "to make a collection," written by Strype on the back.

[Add. 92<sup>68</sup>.

## (2) ENGLISH PROTECTION AND ASSISTANCE TO FOREIGN PROTESTANTS.

18. 1568. "Instructions given by the Queenes Matie to her trustye servant Henry Kelligree beinge sente into Al-

maine to Fredericke the Count Palatine for these thinges ensueinge; at Hampton Courte the 26 of Januarye 1568."

[Gg. 5. 36<sup>24</sup>.

"... The substance of the matters notified to us by the sayd Junio (the Palsgrave's ambassador) consisteth principallie in these two ensueinge partes.

"The first whereof was to understand or disposicōn towards the entringe into a comon league with the Princes Protestants of Germanie, whereof wee take him to be one of the principall for the defence of the cause of the Christian Religion against the invasion of the Pope and his partie seekinge to oppresse and extirpe the same through all partes of Christendome. The second matter was to mōve us by dyvers reasons tendinge to or owne priuate suertie to giue ayde to such states as were nowe oppressed both in France and in the King of Spaines lowe countreys for their consciences in the cause of religion: and for that purpose to lend directlie to the sayd Palsgrave a certaine sume of money to be ymployed with the service of his sonne in that behalfe. . . ."

He was to make the Palsgrave understand that Elizabeth had years before sent to the German princes, but their slowness had made her resolve never to meddle again.

19. 1575. "Instructions given the viii of June 1575 to Daniel Rogers, being then dispatched into Holland to the Prince of Aorange by her Ma<sup>ties</sup> order."

[Gg. 5. 36<sup>2</sup>.

The third point of grievance is that strangers trafficking to England, who are not Spanish subjects or enemies to the Prince of Orange, are spoiled by his servants so that Her Majesty's Customs are impaired. Thereby he renders himself more odious to the world, "in that under the pretext of Religion, they doe most irreligiously maintayne a good Cause by euill meanes". If he does not give order accordingly he will have ten enemies for one. She speaks of the rumoured treaty of Orange with France, persuading him to delay "for that she meaneth presentlie to dispatch a gentleman into Spaine to the Kinge there to perswade him to growe to some such composition with his subiects of the lowe Countreyes, as they may be assured of their safetie and to enioy freedome of Conscience". If this will not avail, Rogers is to remind Orange of the "murder of the Admirall and the rest in Pa<sup>rt</sup> beinge drawne thyther, and all under the couerture of <sup>the</sup> age".



20. 1576. "Instructions for our trustye and well-beloved Sir Amyas Poulet, Knight, appointed to be our Ambassador resident with our good brother the French Kinge."

[Gg. 5. 36<sup>12</sup>.

It is necessary for England's quiet that the party "which hath professed reformatiō of Religion" be kept in the favour which the King by the late edict has granted. And the ambassador is to let it be known on all occasions that the observance of the edict will conduce to the quiet of France. The King must have seen the ill effect of violating edicts both by his predecessors and himself. "This poynt yow may amplifye as you shall see cause from tyme to tyme when yow may thinke that yo<sup>r</sup> dealinge therein may any way further and advance the observaciō of the sayd edict in favour of them of the Religion. . . ."

The edict referred to would doubtless be the very advantageous one of May, 1576 (Paulet being sent in September). It contains the famous 32nd article which says that the disorders and excesses committed the 24th of August and following days at Paris and in other towns and places of the kingdom "have occurred to our very great regret and displeasure".

21. 1603-4. A series of papers relating to the collections made for Geneva. [Add. 60<sup>2</sup>.

Oct. 27, 1603. Jacob Anjorant, "Dominus a Souilly," agent for the City of Geneva, to the Bishop of Lincoln (William Chaderton), acknowledging his letter informing him that the collection had been set on foot. The Duke of Savoy, he says, had deceived them in his promises of peace, and was preparing another expedition against them. Dated "Croideniae".

October 8 was the date of the King's first letter to the Archbishop directing the collection to be made.

Nov. 17, 1603. The Bishop of Lincoln to Dr. Smith his commissary for the Archdeaconry of Bedford and Buckingham with a copy of Archbishop Whitgift's letter to himself.

Mar. 24, 160<sup>3</sup>. The King's letter to the Bishops, speaking of his former letter of October 8 last to the late Archbishop. The response not according to expectation. Renewed efforts to be made.

Mar. 24, 160<sup>3</sup>. The King to Bishop Bancroft of London appointing him to receive the moneys in place of the late Archbishop.



Whitgift died February 29, 1603.

Apr. 18, 1604. The Bishop of Lincoln to his Commissaries touching the King's second letter. Dated from Gardiner's Lane, Westminster.

May 2, 1604. Printed small folio leaf, giving the King's letter of 25 March, followed by a note "To the Minister, Churchwardens and Parishioners of —".

In MS. at the foot is "Manlake decan<sup>s</sup> —253—10—xxxvijs. vd. within Aldersgate at y<sup>e</sup> Bell in St Martyns". This is said on the back to be the Bishop of Winchester's "adject".

Sept. 28, 1604. Anjorant, the agent, to Bancroft, in Latin. Wants to be back for the impending winter: is afraid if he stays here he will be suspected by his people. Dated "Kingstonii".

Sept. 30, 1604. The Lords of the Council to the Bishop of Lincoln. The time for collection expires in October next, etc. Dated from Hampton Court and signed by Ellesmere, Dorset, Nottingham, Suffolk, Devonshire, Northampton, Cranborne, W. Knollys.

Feb. 9, 1603. A note of such money as hath bene received by . . . William I. Bishopp of Lincoln of his officers in y<sup>e</sup> Diocess of Lincoln for Geneva contribution.

The amount is £534 6s. 10d., and the sheet is signed W. Lincoln. There is also a duplicate unsigned.

Mar. 2, 1603. Revised note of money received 1603 and 1604. Called the last account; the duplicate only.

Later. Rough list of contributions of the Lincoln diocese for 1603 and 1604 amounting to £551 6s. 4½d.

22. 1838-54. "Correspondence respecting Three Collections of Books, etc., made at Cambridge for the use of the Library of Trinity College at La Tour, in the Waldensian Valleys of Piedmont, lately instituted; with some printed Reports of the Vaudois Committee. [R. P[otts].]" [Add. 2612.

The correspondence is between Potts, W. S. Gilly (historian of Félix Neff and the Vaudois), J. J. Bonjour, moderator of the Vaudois Church, and others.

A list of Rules for the Waldensian Moderator. Copied from the *Record*, November 15, 1841. [Including the instruction not to communicate the books to any Catholic subjects.]

List of contributions for defraying customs and carriage, and procuring other books; recommended by the moderator.

A copy of *L'Echo des Vallées*, Vol. i., No. 1, 13 Juillet, 1848, a Vaudois periodical.

(3) LA ROCHELLE AND THE EXPEDITION TO THE ISLE OF RHÉ.

The items referring to the unsuccessful attempts of the English to relieve the Huguenots at La Rochelle are as follows:—

23. 1626. Copies of the Articles and Conditions of the Peace, Feb. 5, 1626; the "Acte" of Holland and Carleton, ambassadors from England to France to forward the Peace; a letter, February 11, 1626, from the ambassadors to the town; and the Remonstrance of the town. [Dd. 3. 70.]

Of these the Articles of Peace restore the town to its form of government in 1610; forbid vessels of war; command restoration of Church property according to the 1598 edict; give freedom of religion to Catholics in the town; require the destruction of the fort Tasdon; although the fort Louis which menaced the town would not be demolished. The "Acte" sets forth that the Protestants have made peace with the King of France by the English ambassadors' advice, and have given up much that was thought needful for their security. The ambassadors understand that Fort Louis is to be demolished when the King sees fit, and anything else prejudicial to the town is to be got rid of in time, and without this assurance the deputies would not have consented to the peace. This was countersigned by one of the secretaries, February 10, 1626.

The *letter* announces the agreement of the French King to the Articles and the Acte and assures the Rochellese of the utmost help of England in securing their observance.

The Remonstrance complains of the garrisons in the Isle of Rhé, of two more forts begun since the peace, of a navy in the roads, of the salt revenue used for the forts against the town instead of going to the inhabitants as the treaty promised. They suffer more by the oppression of their enemies in the treaty than in actual war. They ask for the removal of these things speedily.

24. 1626. In a MS. which includes Buckingham's trial and other matters concerning him there is a note of his answer to Parliament with regard to the ships lent to the King of France and used by him against La Rochelle.

[Mm. 4. 38<sup>87</sup>.]



25. 1627. "The Jornale of a Voiage in the Kinges seruice, the Duke of Buckingham being Generall, 1627."

[Dd. 3. 85<sup>6</sup>.

This seems to be a very good naval account of the whole Expedition. The writer was Captain of the *Patient Adventurer*, "a good shyp of Warre," and proves to be a certain Nathaniel Butler.<sup>1</sup> The ship is named in the Trinity House Certificates (petitions for warrant for laying aboard ordnance) on October 14, 1626, as hailing from Ipswich, 250 tons. Another list<sup>2</sup> gives tonnage 360, seamen 48, still another<sup>3</sup> adding the number of soldiers carried as 160.

Our author seems to have been of a careful turn of mind on the one hand, and a critical one on the other. He sets down every minute detail, such as the flags carried by the various admirals, and the list of those landmen who late in the siege formed a band of "Projecters" to cut out a provision ship that had run the blockade, and also a list of officers slain and captured; while he does not forget to exclaim at the number of admirals being enlarged to prevent jealousy, and the Romanism of the largest part of the "Projecters," to each of whom he assigns a character in words uncomplimentary in proportion to their terseness. He considers it a judgment of God that when the tides were high enough for the enemy to force the blockade the wind was also favourable,—and only then. He brings out pretty clearly the panic of the last retreat, and although he elsewhere gives the Duke credit for daring, he affirms that his nerve left him at the embarkation of the troops, and he himself found him disguised in a boat belonging to the *Warspite*. He often recurs to the fact that fleets of Dutchmen and others came and went without the salt and wine of the Islands, which would have paid for half or for all the expedition.

26. 1627. A short account of the expedition which was printed by T. Walkley in 4to in that year. It comprises 23 pages.

[Ee. 2. 32<sup>19</sup>.

27. 1627. "The names of suche officers & persons of quality as were slayne or taken prisoners at y<sup>e</sup> Ile of Rée 1627. . . ."

[Gg. 4. 13<sup>66</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> State Papers, Domestic, Chas. I., 1627, Vol. 65, No. 70, a list of ships and their captains for the expedition.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, Vol. 67, No. 37.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, No. 34.

Giving thirty-five officers slain at the retreat, twelve in the assault, and nineteen taken prisoners; it ends with the couplet—

Alas & well-adaie  
So maie England saie.

28. 1628. "A copie of a lre touching ye passages of or fleete for ye syde of ye towne of Rochell": dated "9<sup>o</sup> november 1628". [Gg. 4. 13<sup>67</sup>.

This letter is from Edward Hyer to his brother and gives the history from the 3rd October to date. He states that the King of France offered Buckingham all the English in La Rochelle if he would send for them. The ship to which he belonged having a bad leak, they stopped it with "two great pieces of beef".

29. 1628. A paper book in folio, of 62 pages written in a set hand, in Latin, being "Historia Defectionis Rupellanorum," a very circumstantial account from the Roman Catholic side, beginning with a geographical and historical description, and finishing with the return of the King of France to Paris (in October 1628). [Dd. 4. 20.

30. A copy of Toyras' letter to Buckingham, refusing as governor of the Castle of St. Martin's to yield it to the Duke, and informing him that "the more yow contribute to this glory [of doing his duty] the more I shall be obliged all my life time to be Sr—Your most humble and obedient servant—TOYRAS". [Add. 40<sup>26</sup>.

31. Some English verses with title "In cladem Rheensem," apparently by some one with initials J. D. who is an apologist for the business and says:—

Here far more dangerous then the sea, the ground  
Suckt us upp faster then the sword could wound,  
We thought wee singly had with men to doe,  
But wee had skirmish with their salt pitts too.  
Those graues that not receaued but mad their dead  
Easie to kill those were first buried.

Our murmurr only can reflect on chance;  
Our vertue was as good, as when 't wonne France.  
Lets rather thinke our English Corps upon  
The French ground here haue tane possession;  
Which when wee prosecute againe I feare  
Theile hardly scape soe well, as wee scapt here.

[Add. 29.



## (4) ON THE HISTORY OF THE REFORMED ON THE CONTINENT.

32. 1572. A contemporary English account of St. Bartholomew's Massacre and other events, 1570-72. Very brief, only occupying about three folio pages. [Dd. 3. 84<sup>3</sup>.

33. 1577-1614. "Registre contenant les Actes des Colloques des Églises de l'Isle de Jersey," from September, 1577, to 14 November, 1614. [Dd. 11. 43.

In 1586 a list of "ministres réfugiés" with the places from which they had escaped is given. They were called in to assist the deliberations of the ministers and elders of Jersey and Guernsey for obtaining union and accord between the two churches. Among the correspondence is a letter from the arbitrators to the "Colloque de Guernezé" signed by six ministers, of whom three were chosen from the refugees.

34. 1599. "The voluntarie Conuersion of the Duchie of Chablais and Cunttrie adioininge to Geneua together with the Conuersion of Peter Petite Minister of Geneua unto our holie Catholike Apostolike & Romaine Religion effected by meanes of a Conference holden at Thonon betweene the Capuchine Fathers and the Ministers of Geneua. Translated out of the Frenche Coppie which was withe Priuiledge Printed at Paris by Denis Binet in y<sup>e</sup> year of o<sup>r</sup> Lorde God 1599."

[Ff. 6. 29.

This event is noticed in *Mémoires historiques sur la maison royale de Savoie* by the Marquis Costa de Beauregard. The Duke of Savoy began missions under François de Sales, and established a college at Thonon for the training of men to controvert Calvinism. The people of Chablais had never adopted the new religion generally. There had only been four Protestant temples, at Thonon, Tully, Bons and Nernier. The conversion of Peter Petite fails to find a place in Migne's *Dictionary of Conversions*.

35. Early seventeenth century. "Jus Augustano-Reformatorum seu Evangelicorum in Urbe Gedanensi."

[Mm. 6. 57<sup>61</sup>.

The Lutherans of Dantzic had succeeded in ousting the Reformed from the magistracy and other offices of the city. The Reformed had been admitted to receive the Sacrament on equality with Lutherans, but were now deprived on the same edict which they had been

allowed before. The Lutherans now partly used the Trinity Church, while the Reformed were directed to repair it; and they naturally complained.

36. 1620. *La Calamité de Bearne. A Orthes Par Jehan Crespon* 1620. *Disce mori Mundo, vivere disce Deo.*

[Dd. 6. 14.

Barbier (*Ouvrages Anonymes*, etc.) gives to Jean Paul de Lescun a work entitled *Calamité des églises de la souveraineté de Béarn*. . . . La Rochelle, par P. Pied-de-Dieu 1621. 8°. Dedication signed L. N.

This may be the same work as our MS. The Jehan Crespon on the title seems to refer to an intended edition from his press, not to him as author necessarily.

The work ends with the King's letter dated 21 September, 1620, bidding the Béarnais to send députés to receive orders, and the Arrêt of the Parlement de Pau electing two representatives to go to the King, 5 October.

37. 1623. A copy of the Articles of the League between the King of France, Venice, and the Duke of Savoy, for the recovery of the Valteline, Paris, 7 February, 1623.

[Dd. 3. 70<sup>9</sup>.

This is in French, and is followed by an Italian copy of the treaty between France and Spain in 1626 for the peace of the Valteline and Genoa.

38. 1625. "Cahyer general des Deputes de la Religion et la Response 1625."

[Dd. 3. 70<sup>1</sup>.

Under the above are the words "received Aug. 8, 1625". The whole volume of which this is a part appears to have belonged to Sir Edward Barret, English ambassador to France. The Reformed ask for re-establishment of the exercise of their religion in forty-four places as in 1620, and then follow twenty other demands. After each is the King's answer, which generally agrees to the petitions.

39. 1659. "Memoriale in causa omnium sine discrimine de Christianæ religionis professione ab ecclesia Catholico-Romana in Polonia discedentium."

[Oo. 6. 112<sup>3</sup>.

Maximilian II. of Poland said that those who wish to govern consciences attack the very citadel of heaven. Freedom of religion in Poland was given by treaty 1573, and confirmed a number of times which are particularly stated. There is a list of cities in which the Reformed had churches after 1550. Asks for the 1647 decree against



Jonas Slichtingius for Arian Confession to be rescinded; gives list of nobles Arian and Evangelical. There follows a copy of a letter from the Bishop of Posen to Samuel Zawacki about a church burnt in Punitz in the diocese of Posen. This letter is dated 2 January, 1659.

40. 1678. "Relation de la conférence d'entre Monsieur l'Evêque de Condom et Monsieur Claude." [Add. 2935.

This is the great Bossuet's account of his conference with M. Jean Claude, the forceful Reformed preacher at Charenton. It has been printed. The conference was brought about by Mme Duras, niece of Turenne, and ended with her abjuration of the Huguenots' religion. The MS. came, through other owners, from the library of the Rev. J. H. Renouard of Trinity College, Cambridge, 1830.

41. 1678. "The Declaration of the Hungarian war lately proclaimed by the most serene Michael Apathy Prince of Transilvania agst his Imperial Maj." Seven pages.

[Add. 40<sup>27</sup>.

" . . . To this tragedy was added the seizure of y<sup>e</sup> protestant Churches where Fury and Madness raged with so much Impetuosity, as if they made warr upon the sacred Edifices & thought the walls to be Rebels: the Ministers were suddenly expelled their parish Churches & sent into Banishment, others by Force and threatening were constrained to give sureties they would assemble & preach no more, or else it was thought clemency if they were permitted to depart y<sup>r</sup> Native Country. Many as attoning victims were condemned & sent to y<sup>e</sup> Gallies (a most horrible & detestable example) that there leading a hard & anxious life they might consume in pain anguish torment & want. This Rage of persecution proceeded to an execrable force upon peoples consciences, no marriages to be allowed of, unless by y<sup>e</sup> administratiō of Catholiques; men were every where compelled by force of Arms to masse & processions, those who resisted were condemned to great punishments & pecuniary fines."

According to Petrus Bod's *Historia Hungariorum Ecclesiastica* (ii., 255), 1678 was about the date when Michael Apafi attempted to help the Reformed by arms.

42. 1685. Grievances of Protestants in France from the infraction of the Edict of Nantes. Written in French about 1685.

[Dd. 13. 31<sup>2</sup>.

Dates are mentioned up to the Declaration of August 21, 1684.

43. 1685-1713. "Liste des protestants qui restent encore sur les galères de France; ou dans les prisons de l'Hopital des forcats à Marseille, pour leur Religion qui en font profession ouverte, et qui ne souffrent le Supplice que parce qu'ils ne veulent pas l'abjurer et trahir leurs Consciences."

[Oo. 6. 1117.

These are divided into classes; those who wished to leave the kingdom for religion; those condemned for the Vaudois affair, for the trouble in Cevennes. The argument is that they are no more guilty than the 136 released by order of the King. It is dated London, 1 February, 1714, and signed in the name of the 136 by Serres le pûine, Serres le jeune, D'Amouyn, Cancillon, Rulland, bousquet. A list of prisoners of both sexes detained in France for religion 13 July, 1713, follows.

The signature "bousquet" is no doubt that of André Bosquet, a refugee from Languedoc, who had served on the galleys for fourteen years. He was the originator of the Westminster French Charity School founded in 1747 (Smiles' *Huguenots in England and Ireland*, p. 367).

#### (5) PROTESTANT LITERATURE, ETC.

44. 1550. Petrus Alexander. Collectanea ex libris Origenis, Adamantij, Athanasij & Epiphaniij una cum locis cōmunib<sup>9</sup>, ex eisdem authorib<sup>9</sup> collectis 1550. [Ee. 2. 8.

The first four leaves are occupied by an "Index potiorum locorum Cōmunium in collectanea . . .". The extracts from Origen occupy 239 leaves, of which those from the first volume of his works are dated 3 Martii 1550, and those from the second 25 Martii. There is an index memorabile of ten leaves and at end "Finis Indicis 17 Aprilis 1550 Lambethi" with the names of our Lord in Hebrew:—

יֵשׁוּעַ מָשִׁיחַ קְדוֹשׁ יְהוָה יִצְחָאֵל עִמָּנוּאֵל  
(Jeshua, Mashiach, Kadosh, Jehovah, Sebaoth, Immanuel).

Then follow the extracts from Athanasius which were made between the 17th and 31st March, and an index dated 21 Aprilis. After these come the Collectanea ex Epiphanio contra haereses, dated 20 Februarij, with index 4 April, and the book finishes with

τὸ θεῶν χριστὸν δόξα εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας : אָמֵן



Alexander was from Artois, invited here by Cranmer and employed as his secretary (Todd's *Cranmer*, ii., 201). The above volume is dedicated to the Archbishop, and the author speaks of already having made similar notes on Dionysius, Ignatius, Irenæus, Tertullian, and Cyprian.

45. 1551. Joannes à Lasco. De tollendo vestium peculiarium usu in Ministerio Ecclesiae Sententia D. Joannis Alasco conscripta anno quinto Regni Regis Edouardi eius nominis Sexti, Sept. 20. [Mm. 4. 14.]

This is different from the piece on vestments printed in Strype, and seems to be an inedited treatise, of five pages. Sir Alex. Malet's collection of MSS. has "Summa controversiae de re vestitaria inter Bucerum et a Lascum," seven pages. See Hist. MSS. Comm. Reports, vii., 429, and also see *Parker's Life*, by Strype, ii., ch. 25.

46. 1553. Michel Angelo Florio, Fiorentino. Regole de la lingua Thoscana. [Dd. 2. 46.]

Dedication to "il signore Arrigo Harbart" dated "In Londra il di XXI d'Agosto MDLiiij." Consisting of 124 leaves, the words and phrases quoted as examples, etc., being written in red ink.

Florio was minister of the Italian Church in London for a time.

47. 1571. Letters recommending Marlorat's Commentary on St. Matthew (which had been translated by T. Timme and published by T. Marshe in 1570) to the clergy by the Privy Council through the Bishops. [Ee. 2. 34.]

These were printed in Strype's *Life of Parker*, vol. ii., p. 82.

48. 1577. Antonius Corranus. Epistola ad potentiss. Philippum Austriacum Regem Hispan. &c. de tumultibus Belgicis componendis vernaculo sermone conscripta nunc calamitosissimo hoc tempore Latine publicata : ut aliæ gentes intelligant perpressiones Belgarum eiusque regionis cõmiseratione tangantur. [Kk. 1. 318.]

Forty-two leaves written in a neat hand, with numerous corrections and additions, apparently by the author himself, who has added "Antverpiæ 15. martij Anno 1577," and has altered his signature from *Corranus* to *De Corro Hispalj*. This date was that of the English edition, the French and the Latin having been published in 1567. Perhaps this was prepared for a new Latin edition, or corrected for the

English translator to work from. Pasted to the last leaf is a slip containing nine additional lines written on the blank fragment of a letter having the address “. . . ornatissimoque viro dn̄o Corrano. S. Theologiae Professori Oxonij.”

49. 1580. Jacques de Marnix. An “album” belonging to him with this date, consisting of numerous “chansons” by himself, with verses and inscriptions by his friends, including several coats of arms in colours. [Dd. 11. 44.]

Jacques was the son of the great Philip de Marnix of St<sup>e</sup> Aldegonde.

50. 1585. Lattantio Valori, Fiorentino. A bulky volume containing two books of Italian sonnets collected by Valori, and dated Londra, May 1, 1585. There is a dedication to Cap<sup>no</sup> Thommaso Sassetti whose nephew the compiler was. A rough draft of the Sassetti arms appears on each title-page. [Ee. 1. 11.]

51. 1587. “Considérations nécessaires sur ung traicté de paix avec l’Espagnol. 1587.” [Dd. 9. 36.]

This is written on thirty-one pages with a preface of “L’auteur au bon Patriot”. It is evidently the work of a Huguenot, by the way in which the treachery of St. Bartholomew’s and the troubles of German Protestant princes are mentioned.

52. 1612. Petrus Bertius. Epistola . . . ad Rev. in X<sup>to</sup> P. Gul. Barlow Episc. Lincoln. de 5. Articulis. Dated Lugd. Bat. 1612. [Dd. 8. 30<sup>1</sup>.]

There are twenty-eight pages of the letter, followed by six pages of “Theses Theologicae de vite et Palmitibus”. The subject of the letter is Barlow’s book on the Hampton Conference and his own *De Apostasia*. He includes a letter written to Archbishop Abbott, 20 September, 1611, with a copy of his book *De Apostasia Sanctorum*, and correspondence between Isaac Casaubon, the Archbishop and himself, 1612. On the last leaf occurs the note “An. 1692. Haec scripsi ad exemplar cl. & amiciss. V. Simonis Louth S.T.P. quod ille manu propria Sept. 13. an. 1670. ex apographo transcripsit venerabilis viri Thomae Turner, S.T.P. et Eccle<sup>ie</sup> X<sup>ti</sup> Cantuariensis Decani meritissimi.” Bertius was brought by his father, a minister at Rotterdam, to England from the persecutions in 1566, when he was only three months old. He was kept here till 1577,

learning Latin, English and French; he went then to Leyden where he afterwards became professor.

53. 1623. "Remarques principales du livre Intitulé, Admonitio ad Regem Ludouicū xiiij<sup>m</sup>, par un Jesuit de Bavières." [Dd. 3. 70<sup>u</sup>.

The Admonitio was first attributed to Jacob Cellarius who was professor at Lauingen in Bavaria. It was condemned to the flames and rigidly suppressed. This *résumé* in French notes that King Louis does not know good from bad counsellors, that there is war within against the Huguenots and, inconsistently, without against the Catholics; for assisting Holland against their sovereign, the Duke of Savoy against Genoa, and Venice towards the Valteline is making war directly on the Catholics. Richelieu is attacked on the English marriage and a league with Holland. Louis also favours the Palatine heretic against the Duc de Bavières whom he had once supported. He has no right to weaken a neighbouring prince, however strong, if he be a good Catholic.

54. 1626. "Copie of a letter from the Divell to the Pope. 1626. Translated out of y<sup>e</sup> Dutche Copie by George Wilsley, resident at Rotterdam." [Gg. 4. 13<sup>10</sup>.

Satan names as his very good friends Tyrone, the Earl of Argyll, the Duke of Savoy, Sir Robert Dudley, Sir Christopher Markham, Sir William Stanley, and "my faithful revolted friend Ned Nevyle".

"... It is now come to pass that neither Englishē mowse nor flemishe frogg can sooner creepe out at a hole but y<sup>e</sup> spanish kyte (I mean y<sup>e</sup> Dunkirke) swallowes them up. And one principall reason thereof yo<sup>w</sup> know is this, for that there be in y<sup>e</sup> English Court manie great frends & favorytes on our syde . . . who although they have a tounge for y<sup>e</sup> king yet they haue a hart for the pope." Dated "the last of November 1626".

In the British Museum Catalogue under *Lucifer* and *Urban VIII.* are two copies of what seems to be an edition of this satire printed in 1642 under the title "I marry sir, here is Newes indeed, being the Copie of a Letter which the Devil sent to the Pope of Rome, and kept in the conclave of cardinals ever since the year 1623 . . . brought over from Rome by Charon the ferryman, . . ." (Translated out of the Dutch copy into English by me George Wolley.) 4<sup>o</sup> [London 1642]. Si . . . "Pater tuus aman-

tissimus Luciferus". The MS. copy above, which does not state the source whence it came, gives the name of the translator quite plainly as Wilsley; but both forms are probably pseudonymous.

55. 1626. [Carolus Scribanus.] "Apoccalisse d'Olanda." [Ee. 1. 29.]

The author was a Jesuit (born at Brussels in 1561, died in 1629).

This work was added in Latin as "Apocalypsis Batavica" to the author's *Veridicus Belgicus*, 1624, etc., and was published in Dutch in 1625 with the Dutch translation of the same book; there were further editions of it in both languages. The above Italian translation does not appear to have been printed; it is a contemporary MS.

56. 1645. "Corpus Disciplinæ" of the Dutch Churches. There is a copy in the British Museum of the printed edition of this year. [Mm. 6. 34.]

57. 1654-1662. Evvertre Jollyvet. A volume chiefly consisting of Huguenot verse, all copied in one neat hand, that of the author's son apparently. It consists of the following pieces:—

(1) "Le Guide de la terre aux Cieux . . . Traduit de l'anglois." Prose of fifty-five pages, the English original not yet identified.

(2) "Le Cœur du Cœur Chrestien." Spiritual songs arranged under the letters of the alphabet with which their first word begins, some letters having more than one song.

(3) "Le Flageolet Chrestien du Berger de Lucerne pour exciter les siens à souffrir le martyre avec constance et foy dans l'horreur des massacres en 1654." Six pages.

(4) "Le Cœur Froissé ou Dernières Heures de Mon<sup>r</sup> Jollyuet ad<sup>cat</sup> en Parlement, mon Père." Also some chansons, at the end of one of which is the following: "Du 14<sup>e</sup> Juin 1662 un mois devant sa mort, qui arriva le 20 Juillet, jour de sa naissance, ainsy qu'il l'avoit souhaité dans un vers latin trouvé escrit dans son almanach vis à vis d'Iceluy."

(5) "Aux Pères du Synode de la Province d'Orléans et Berry, Assemblez à Mer en May 1662."

(6) "Testament Paternel." Praying that his children's eyes may never have the superstitious bandage of idolatry, that they may strictly follow the Gospel and Truth.

The author, Evvertre Jollyvet, Sieur de Votilley, avocat au parlement de Paris, was born at Orléans in 1601 and died in 1662. His son (according to Haag) took refuge in England and was living in 1708.

Portions of nos. (2) (4) (5) and (6) together with many other poems were published in 1708 at Utrecht under the title *Poésies chrétiennes de Monsieur Evverte Jollyvet . . . Ouvrage Postume*, a copy of which is in the British Museum (11475 bb.) [Dd. 10. 43.]

58. 1666. James Boevey. "2 Tome Off the Art of Discerning Men Continued by James Boevey of the Inner Temple Esquire." [Dd. 15. 28.]

An oblong book written on one side only, the folios numbered 107-212, after which is an Index of 6 pp. On fo 212<sup>b</sup> are the words "huc usque James Boevey 1666". The signature is large, but the book is written in a small neat hand. Also on the title-leaf is an autograph, "Rose moore". For the author, who was son of a refugee (Andreas Boeve who came to London in 1573), and father-in-law of Sir Roger de Coverley's "Perverse Widow," see "*The Perverse Widow*: by Arthur W. Crawley-Boevey". Our author retired from business and studied the Law-Merchant, admitting himself of the Inner Temple about 1660, according to a memoir of him by John Aubrey, 1680.

59. c. 1676-88. Pierre Allix. A collection of MSS. that belonged to him, some of which are in his own handwriting.

(1) "An historie of the affaires of Religion together with the pranks of Popes striuing for wealth, and Souerainty, as also their maintaining, and increasing of their innouations from the time of Waldo, 1100 vnto Queen Elisabeth's raigne." Half ruined by damp.

(2) "Ch. I. Y<sup>t</sup> y<sup>e</sup> study of y<sup>e</sup> Prophetical books of y<sup>e</sup> old Testam<sup>t</sup> & of y<sup>e</sup> Psalms & y<sup>e</sup> order of y<sup>e</sup> 16 Proph<sup>ts</sup> of y<sup>e</sup> old Testam<sup>t</sup> must be y<sup>e</sup> most important employm<sup>t</sup> & business of a X<sup>tian</sup>. Ch. 2. Y<sup>t</sup> y<sup>e</sup> certainty & diuinity of their Prophecys cannot be questioned."

These may have been intended for the author's "*Reflexions upon the books of the Holy Scripture*" 1688, but were not used there.

(3) Sermon notes on Mark viii. 36, with notes on the back of occasions on which they were used (?) by himself and others 1709-55. He died in 1717.

(4) An anonymous address to the Corps de Justice of



Berne, which speaks of Jacob Christoph le Rabbin, convert from Judaism to Christianity, who asks for permission to print a letter he had written to the Jews of Frankfort, and gives *résumé* which he had shown to Professor Rodolph, who told him to translate it into German.

(5) A portion of a history of England, 1129-1136 "liber decimus".

(6) A printed notice "Monsieur vous estes prié d'assister à l'Enterrement de défunte la veuve de feu Monsieur Coignard Marchand à Rouen; Qui se fera demain, Dimanche 17 Novembre 1680, à quatre heures du soir au Cimetière du Faux-bourg Saint Germain: Où la Compagnie se trouvera, s'il luy plaist." Addressed "Mr C. la Mouthe ches Mr Allix".

(7) "Le Curé Romain trans-substantié en Catholique Protestant. Ou Scrupules d'un Curé nouvellement Convertis par les dragons de la France. Epistre à Monsieur Monsieur Allix très fidel ministre du Saint Euangile." Signed "N. Moreau. Ce . . . iuillet 1688." Imperfect.

(8) "A Charenton ce Novembre 1677. Marc 11. 13," a fragment of a sermon beautifully written.

(9) "Traité touchant la Transubstantiation," a large MS.

(10) Copy of a "Minutte de l'edict & articles pour les attributions aux officiers des Sabelles de Languedoc".

(11) "These for the Reverend Mr Alix a French Minister, at his house in Charterhouse yard, the second doore next to the turning into Long lane." Letter from J. H. who sends a book with it (on broadening the Church). It has an armorial seal.

(12) "Recueil de diverses pièces sur la Providence et le Concours." These consist of extracts from letters between Mons<sup>r</sup> D.L., Mons<sup>r</sup> D.S., and Monsieur de V.Y., 1674-76, with "Raisons pour et contre le concours immediat de Dieu dans toutes les actions des creatures".

(13) A Commentary on Matt. xxiii. 38—xxiv. 51, the Greek text with Latin annotations beneath.

(14) "Les Chimères de Mr Dodwell" (taken out of his work page by page in French notes). [Add. 2608.

60. Seventeenth century. Manual of prayers for young persons, in French. [Dd. 15. 23.

This is a very small book, beautifully written on vellum, tastefully bound in red morocco with gilt tooling, and

having an illumination at each end of the volume. The first painting is a coat of arms, on a lozenge, paly arg. and az. of 7 pieces with a chevron gules. Motto: *Je suis seule pour jamais*. The painting at the end is an ornamental square frame surrounding a motto, *Un feal de ton ayde*, and the interlaced initials D O C I.

It only remains to mention the great collection of Waldensian documents which were nearly all printed by Morland in his work on the Piedmont Persecutions.



*Annals of a Quiet Family.*

BY J. H. PHILPOT, M.D. LOND., M.R.C.P.

TOWARDS the end of the year 1692 a young widow, named Lidie Grenouilleau de Lafargue, left her desolated home in Guienne and escaped to England with her mother and her three small children, the youngest barely out of arms. For forty years she lived here in modest retirement, only emerging after her death into that qualified if lasting publicity which the proving of one's will confers on the most obscure. Of her children, two died before her, unmarried. The third and youngest, Élie to his mother, Elias to his new compatriots, in due time entered Holy Orders, took to wife the daughter of a fellow-refugee, and after fourteen years of wedded life, spent in ministering to one of the quietest parishes in England, became, when close upon fifty, the father of an only son, Peter, who did not marry until he was over thirty. Thus for nearly a century after its migration the family depended for its continuance upon the frail link of a single life, and its opportunities of distinction were proportionately limited, though not more limited, it would appear, than was its ambition. Peter, raised by his father's economies and by two fortunate marriages of his own above the need of earning his bread, was content to spend an unassuming life in a small country town, and though a clergyman like his father, never courted the responsibilities of a cure. But he succeeded in rescuing the family from its hitherto precarious existence, and has left many descendants through the two children of his first marriage, so that at the present day, scattered about the world, there are at least 100 souls, and I know not how many more, who through him can claim the brave young widow, Lidie Grenouilleau, as their common ancestress.

Meanwhile, with the lapse of time, the English Lafargues had forgotten all about their French progenitors. They had, indeed, a tradition, which, as is usual with such traditions,

had gained in grandeur what it had lost in accuracy. They were descended, so they held, from a certain Comte de Lafargue, of Château-Fargues near Bordeaux, a former President of the Parliament of Guienne, who, for his faith's sake, had abandoned title, château and a rent roll of many thousands a year, and destroying the title-deeds to his estates, lest some degenerate successor should be tempted to reclaim them, had escaped with his family to England.

Certain relics in the possession of his descendants—an old seal engraved with a count's coronet, and four oil-portraits of unknown identity—gave some colour to this tradition. And nearly a century ago two members of the family, it is said, visiting their ancestral home, were received by a M. de Fargue, who lived in the old château, or rather in its modern successor, and who showed them hanging upon its walls the counterparts of the very portraits they had left in England. But if they brought home with them any more precise intelligence as to their remoter pedigree it had again been lost, leaving the picturesque tradition to resume its place.

Recently, however, one of your Fellows, Miss Ida H. Layard<sup>1</sup>—the value of whose contributions to Huguenot history requires no eulogium from me—searching amongst old archives still preserved in Guienne, came upon some important information concerning the family, which, while dispersing the romantic halo that the silent years had woven about its head, and substituting truth for tradition, nevertheless affords so interesting a side-glimpse into the life and sufferings of a small Protestant community in the day of adversity, that I hope it may not prove unworthy of your sympathy and attention, especially as the narrative will touch incidentally on several points of general interest, and introduce many refugee families, concerning whom the standard authorities are entirely silent.

The name "De Lafargue" is undoubtedly a place-name or seigneurial title, derived from some village in which there was, or once had been, a forge or iron-foundry. Though rarely encountered in other parts of France, it is of by no means uncommon occurrence in the south-western districts, especially about Bordeaux and in the adjacent valleys of

<sup>1</sup> I wish to acknowledge here once for all my great indebtedness to Miss Layard, not only for invaluable advice and encouragement, but also for much of the information on which this paper is founded.



the Gironde and Dordogne.<sup>1</sup> There can be no doubt that a family of the name held a prominent, if not a noble, position in Guienne at a very remote period. In the fifteenth century Armand, Jehan, Raymond and Bartholomew de Lafargue occupied important official posts in Bordeaux.<sup>2</sup> In 1430, the year which witnessed the triumph and the capture of Joan of Arc, Pierre de Lafargue was *Panetier* to the King she served and saved, Charles VII. His descendants filled important posts in Guienne and at the Court of France, and still hold a place amongst the old French noblesse.<sup>3</sup> In 1524 "noble Amade de Lafargue" was married by contract to "noble Pierre de Batz, ecuyer,"<sup>4</sup> and their great-grandson was no other than that Charles de Batz de Castelmoré d'Artagnan, whose name the genius of Dumas, rather than his own authentic achievement, has made delightfully familiar to all. In 1582 a Jean de Lafargue was elected Captain of Casteljalous, an important fortified place not far from Nérac, which latter town seems to have been the home of that branch of the family which remained in France at the Revocation. His descendant, Guillaume de Lafargue, was *gentilhomme ordinaire* to Louis XIV. in 1665. Guillaume's brother, Bertrand, continued the descent and was the grandfather of Jean Baptiste de Lafargue de la Bordenne, born at Nérac in October, 1690, who distinguished himself greatly at the battle of Fontenoy, became eventually *Maréchal des Camps et Armées du Roy*, and died in 1782 on his property at Blénac, of which he had been made count. The arms of this branch of the family, which differ slightly from those of the English Lafargues, are as follows: D'Argent, au Chevron de gueules, accompagné de trois Pommes de Pin du même, renversées, posées 2 et 1. *Couronne*, de Comte. *Support*, deux lions

<sup>1</sup> This territorial limitation of the name may be ascribed to a dialectical peculiarity, the Latin word "Fabrica," which in the North passed into "Forge," undergoing a less radical change in the South, and becoming in Gascon "Fargue," in Provençal "Faurga". There are twenty villages named "Forges" or "La Forge" in Northern France; none named "Fargues". In the South there are five "Fargues," two close to Bordeaux, and no "Forges". The seven "Farges" of Central France present a transitional form. Nowhere, however, is "La Fargue" met with, and it is perhaps an older form, which has been displaced by the plural "Fargues". This would, perhaps, explain the traditional connection of the family "De Lafargue" with the village of Fargues, near Bordeaux.

<sup>2</sup> *Archives Municipales de Bordeaux*, tome supplémentaire.

<sup>3</sup> *Le Nobiliaire Universel de France*, par L. de Magny, Paris, 1835, tome xvii., "Comtes De la Fargue".

<sup>4</sup> *Nobiliaire de Guienne et de Gascogne*, par H. O'Gilvy, Bordeaux, 1856-83, tome i., p. 461; tome iii., pp. 353-56.

lampassés de gueules. *Devise*, "Non deficiam," plus anciennement, "Point ne fauldray".<sup>1</sup>

For the most part, however, the family appears to have had leanings rather to official and professional life than to the career of the sword, and this tendency was accentuated during the troublous Huguenot period, when many of its members had embraced the reformed faith. From the day when the new religion was first preached in Guienne until the final dolorous exodus under Louis XIV., there was seldom a time when some de Lafargue was not practising the profession of law in connection with the Parliament of Bordeaux or some other branch of the provincial judicature.<sup>2</sup> A Jehan de Lafargue was "procureur" in 1535. About the same time Maître Sauvat de Lafargue, the father of a proscribed Huguenot, was an "avocat-en-la-cour".<sup>3</sup> Jeanne de Lafargue was in 1608 the wife of Pierre du Boscq, Consul de la Bourse de Bordeaux.<sup>4</sup> Another lady of the same name was the wife of Maître Jean Sauvage, "avocat-en-la-cour," and their daughter, Olympe, married, 5th November, 1618, another advocate, Matthieu de la Corrège, it being stipulated in the marriage contract that the ceremony should take place in the Reformed Church.<sup>5</sup> During a revolt at Bordeaux in 1635, "l'avocat Lafargue" was killed and his body thrown into the river by the rioters.<sup>6</sup> In a later revolt, that of the "Ormistes," in 1653, Guillaume de Lafargue, "Conseiller Magistrat présidial en Guyenne," played a leading part in restoring peace to the disturbed city. He died, still comparatively young, four years later, and his widow and children, robbed of his protecting care, became involved in an interminable lawsuit, the "procès Lafargue," which has been taken by a modern writer as his text for an interesting study on provincial legal procedure in the time of Louis XIV.<sup>7</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Le Nobiliaire Universel*, loc. cit.

<sup>2</sup> The Parliament of Bordeaux, it must be remembered, did not invariably hold its sessions in that city. On more than one occasion during the seventeenth century it was removed in disgrace by Royal decree to Agen or to La Réole. From 1675 to 1690 both it and its rival, the "Cour des Aydes," were banished from the provincial capital, the former to La Réole, the latter to Libourne, only the intermediary Court known as the "Présidial" and the local court of the Jurats being allowed to hold their sessions in Bordeaux. The "Chambre de l'Édit de Guienne," until its abolition in 1679, was domiciled at Nérac (Boscheron des Portes, *Hist. du Parlement de Bordeaux*, Bordeaux, 1877).

<sup>3</sup> *La France Protestante*, 2nd ed., vol. i., col. 662

<sup>4</sup> *Nobiliaire de Guienne*, vol. iii., p. 566.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, vol. ii., p. 166.

<sup>6</sup> Boscheron des Portes, *op. cit.*

<sup>7</sup> Ribadieu, Henry, *Un Procès en Guienne sous Louis XIV*, Paris, 1881.

It is this Guillaume de Lafargue, a man, according to M. Ribadieu, of great but forgotten merit, who approached most nearly in official rank to the honour claimed by tradition for the ancestor of the English Lafargues, for the information recently unearthed proves that the young husband of Lidie Grenouilleau was only an "avocat," while his father was "Conseiller et Médecin du Roy". Though the "procès Lafargue" was tried before the Chambre de l'Édit, it is doubtful whether it was the family of Guillaume de Lafargue, or their opponents, who professed the reformed religion and thus brought it within the cognisance of that court.

There is plenty of other evidence, however, to testify to the Huguenot sympathies of the family. A Jehan Lafargue figures on the roll of a squadron of cavalry reviewed, 20th December, 1558, at Puymirol, which was, so to speak, one of the Huguenot cities of refuge.<sup>1</sup> Another Jehan de Lafargue appears amongst "gentilshommes" on that long list of Protestants condemned "par contumace," that "terrible arrêt," as M. Haig calls it, by which the Parliament of Bordeaux, in April 1569, provided, as it were, a programme for the more ruthless and effectual massacre of St. Bartholomew a year or two later.<sup>2</sup> Yet another Jehan de Lafargue, the son of an advocate, was condemned for his religion in 1570.<sup>3</sup> In 1621, at the surrender of Clairac, the cradle of Guienne Protestantism, amongst those hanged as an example by Louis XIII. were M. Lafargue, "procureur en la Chambre de l'Édit de Nérac," and his son, a minister. In 1672, J. de Lafargue, Sieur de l'Hostalet, "contumace," was banished from Guienne for five years for the crime of illicit assembly.<sup>4</sup> To this list must be added Paul de Lafargue of Bordeaux, who, having at the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes taken refuge in Brandenburg, was instrumental in establishing (25th November, 1686) a ribbon factory at Koenigsberg for the employment of refugee French weavers.<sup>5</sup> He was appointed Commercial Councillor in the Royal Chamber of Koenigsberg, in which city he acquired a very honourable standing, two of his daughters marrying refugee officers of rank from Southern France, who had served with distinction under the Prussian flag. From 1686 onward, moreover, a M. de Lafargue was

<sup>1</sup> *La France Protestante*, 2nd ed., vol. ii., col. 248.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, vol. i., col. 652.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, vol. i., col. 662.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, vol. v., col. 737.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, 1st ed., vol. ix., under "Vernezobre".



one of the two ministers of the French Church in Koenigsberg.<sup>1</sup>

The above facts have been gleaned from many fields and it has not been found possible as yet to trace the exact degree of relationship, if any, which existed between these scattered bearers of a common name. Thanks, however, to the fortunate preservation of some of the Registers of the Reformed Church of Castillon-sur-Dordogne, which may still be consulted in the town library of the neighbouring Libourne, we have more precise information as to the immediate progenitors of the English Lafargues, who, we now know, had for some generations before the Revocation made their home at the former town.<sup>2</sup>

With the help of these ancient records, supplemented by the Catholic Registers of Conversions, which naturally the priests took good care to preserve, and assisted by some slight study of history and locality, we can form a fairly vivid picture of Lidie Grenouilleau's early married life and of the evil times on which she fell. They give us the measure of her sufferings and of her heroism. But first a few words about the home from which she fled.

Between Sainte-Foy and a little below Libourne, where it debouches into the plain of the Gironde, the river Dordogne winds for some thirty miles through a flat and fertile alluvial valley, which gradually increases from two to as many as five miles in width. With a direction running nearly due east and west, the valley is bounded on the north by a straight, steep ridge of hills, some 300 feet in height, behind which and between it and the parallel valley of the river Isle, flowing to join the Dordogne at Libourne, is the broken hilly country of the "Libournais". To the south lie the gentler undulating slopes or "côtes" of "Entre-deux-Mers," the broad tongue of land enclosed between the Dordogne and the Garonne. The river wanders from side to side of the wide plain, now hugging the long, straight steep upon its right, now winding around the foot of the opposite slopes. At

<sup>1</sup> Erman et Reclam; *Mémoires pour servir à l'histoire des Réfugiés François dans les États du Roi*, Berlin, 1782-92, vol. ii., p. 120; vol. viii., p. 328; vol. ix., p. 123.

<sup>2</sup> By a decree of Louis XIV., issued 9th August, 1683, it was ordained that when a Protestant temple was closed and its consistory suppressed, the registers of baptisms, marriages and burials should be deposited in the Public Record Office of the district. Owing, however, to the general disorders of the time and the hasty expulsion of the Protestant ministers, their preservation is, unfortunately, the exception rather than the rule.

a point about midway between Sainte-Foy and Libourne, though somewhat nearer to the latter, where the river runs nearest to the ridge, and the ridge, after opening to let through from the Libournais the little affluent Lidoire, rises again to its steepest, here, between the river and the hills, stands the little old town of Castillon, planted there no doubt in some far distant day to guard the once important highway which led from Bordeaux and the sea into the mountainous heart of Southern France. Built upon a slight rise in the angle between the parent stream and its little tributary, its walls, while yet intact, roughly described a right-angled triangle, whose base, looking southward, rested on the Dordogne, while its north-eastern side ran parallel to the Lidoire, and its north-western faced the hills, being further protected by an ancient town ditch which passed from one stream to the other and could be flooded in case of need. Abutting on the Dordogne, and occupying almost a third of the walled space, was the castle which gave the place its name, with its protecting work, the Tour du Moulin, so called from an adjacent mill upon the Lidoire. Within the castle bounds were the prison, the well and an ancient church long since demolished.

That in the old unquiet days the place was one of great strategic strength, and its possession of vital importance to a belligerent, is sufficiently obvious. It was on the neighbouring Plaine de Colles that in July, 1453, the aged Talbot, in a desperate but vain attempt to relieve Castillon, then besieged by Charles VII., and to recover Guienne for the English, fought his last battle and left his body on the field. In the religious wars of the sixteenth century the little fortress became the scene of more than one hot struggle for its possession. Mayenne captured it in 1586 after a long and determined resistance. A little later the Vicomte de Turenne retook it by escalade. In 1598 it was held by a garrison of 135 Protestants under St. Ouen. A quarter of a century later, when the back of the Huguenot resistance had been broken, Louis XIII. passing through the town and gazing with resentment on the Castle, which had so often given harbourage to the enemies of his faith, ordered its demolition.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> During the very years in which religious strife waxed hottest around Castillon, the great Montaigne was living a detached life amongst his books, "slumbering tranquilly on the pillow of doubt" and composing his immortal essays almost within sight of the little town. The château from which he took his name—Saint-Michel-Montaigne—with its "coquettish, well-kept, vine-



Thus in the days before us Castillon had long lost its military importance, and had become the quiet and beloved home of many well-to-do Protestant families, who asked for nothing better than to be left alone. The seat of a flourishing Church, it occupied almost the centre of the district known to the Huguenot organisation as the "Colloque du Bas-Agenois," which, including Bordeaux, numbered some twenty separate churches, mostly scattered along the Dordogne valley and amongst the pleasant hills to the south. While thus in close contact with the neighbouring rural district and its village temples, it was not beyond the influence of the busy mercantile life of the great seaport and its large Protestant Church at Bègles. The twenty-five miles which separated the two places formed no bar to their frequent intercommunication. On one occasion the Protestants of Bordeaux complained that they were compelled to go to Castillon "pour prendre consolation en l'exercice de piété,"<sup>1</sup> and at the time of the Revocation, of the families who resided at Castillon, more than one had an hereditary connection with the Parliament of Bordeaux, though lately debarred from all share in its proceedings.

These wealthier inhabitants lived for the most part, not in the little town itself, but in the *faubourg* or suburb which lay outside its western wall, and which once, according to de Thou,<sup>2</sup> were "plus grandes que la ville et percées de belles rues, bien pavées, et ornées de belles maisons". With the dispersal and ruin of the Huguenots, however, their glory soon departed, and they are now represented by a long, straggling country road, ill-paved and of a somewhat squalid appearance, which leads from the gay, bright centre of the town to the railway. From it poorer streets ramify, and here is situated the old Huguenot cemetery, in most deplorable case, with its tombs fallen in and broken to pieces, and its misery only imperfectly hidden by that green veil which a merciful nature is wont to throw over such places as are forsaken of man. Halfway down the long Faubourg Street once stood the Protestant Temple.

The river, here above the reach of the tide and little like

wreathed towers, smiling over a little irregular old village, itself half-hidden in gadding vine" (Pater), was perched on a high slope a mile or two up the Lidoire valley. From it the philosopher looked down in more senses than one upon the war of the creeds and "the ruin of his country".

<sup>1</sup> *La France Protestante*, 1st edition, "Pièces Justificatives," p. 219.

<sup>2</sup> *Histoire Universelle*, tome iii., chap. viii., p. 28.

the strong and majestic waterway one admires at Libourne, flows lazily past the town, which rises abruptly, but to no great height, above its banks. In the old days when there was no bridge nearer than Bergerac there must have been a busy traffic up and down and across the stream, but at the present day the boats upon its surface are few and far between. The banks are singularly bare of trees, there being none on the town side and not many on the opposite shore.

The district, however, has a peculiar beauty of its own. In summer time the wide flat valley, bounded by its distant shores, gives one the impression of a Southern sea, for the vines extend for leagues around, all uniform in height and like the Mediterranean for colour. Towards evening the level sunbeams, entangled among the vine-leaves, transform the whole rich plain into a blaze of emeralds. It is a country, says Pater, describing "the fat, *noonday* Gascon scenery," "a country (like its people) of passion and capacity, though at that moment emphatically lazy".

The villages have the look of Indian hamlets, the low, straggling houses being tiled irregularly with brown bricks, which simulate the appearance of thatch. At midday the summer sun beats down with pitiless brilliancy upon the treeless plain and its white, glaring roads, until the tired wayfarer longs to creep for shade even under the stumpy vines and eagerly calculates the distance between one streak of poplar shadow across the road and the next. Scarcely a mile of country separates these village-oases from each other and there are no houses dotted along the highway to lessen the feeling of their isolation. In the fifteen miles between Libourne and Castillon there are half a dozen villages, each close to the other and yet each apparently wrapped up in its own interests.

But it is the past that we have to deal with, and as far as possible to reconstruct. And, indeed, as we pore over our old documents, slowly the curtain rises upon a few earnest, cultured families, well-born and well-to-do, living side by side in the old town and its pleasant *faubourg*, meeting together for their simple worship, lending each other the support of their sympathy—sadly needed in those threatening days—at their quiet ceremonies of baptism, bridal or burial, intermarrying with each other, standing sponsors for each other's children and handing down to them their own familiar Bible names, Samuel, Peter, Elias, Isaac, Elizabeth, Esther,



Lydia.<sup>1</sup> For twenty years and more they have seen the rights and privileges so hardly won, so solemnly accorded, stripped from them one by one: the old "Chambre de l'Édit," which was their guarantee of justice, abolished, their academies suppressed, their temples destroyed, occupation after occupation closed to them, and life made intolerable by a malicious ingenuity of persecution. But the final blow has not yet fallen. The Edict of Nantes has still a year to run.

Amongst the little group of friends, kinsmen and fellow-worshippers with whom our business lies, Samuel de Lafargue, the elder, Docteur en Médecine, has apparently a fair claim to be regarded as the leader. He is wealthy—very wealthy according to family tradition—and he comes of an ancient and noble house, which is entitled to surmount its arms with the insignia of Comte, and which for generations has been faithful to the Protestant cause. He has, too, a prescriptive claim to authority in the little town, which has numbered his father and his grandfather amongst its consuls and his wife's as well as his mother's father amongst the captains of its castle.<sup>2</sup> Though discharged from all functions, he still retains the empty title of "Conseiller et Médecin du Roy," and in his younger and less restricted days, we may infer, has played his part in the difficult politics of the time. His Church, too, trusts him, and but a few years back (September,

<sup>1</sup> The leading Protestant families of Castillon intermarried so constantly and restricted themselves to so small a choice of Christian names that it must have been almost as bewildering for a Trapaud, a Marcon, a de Lafargue, a du Foussat, a Brun, or a Grenouilleau to find his way amongst their interlacing pedigrees as it is for us at the present day.

<sup>2</sup> Pierre de Lafargue was Consul of Castillon in 1605, and his son, Jean, held the same office in 1647. The latter married Marie Trapaud, whose father lived in the *faubourg*, and bore the title "Captain of the Castle, Town and Viscounty of Castillon". Samuel de Lafargue married his cousin, Elizabeth or Isabeau, daughter by Marthe Cardinal of Paul Trapaud, still called "Captain of the Castle," even after its demolition, and head of one of the seven branches of the Trapaud family, who constituted a large portion of the *élite* of Castillon. In 1660 eight Trapauds attended the marriage of Isaac Trapaud, son of Paul and brother-in-law of Samuel de Lafargue, and on a certain state occasion, it is recorded, a Trapaud, Captain of the Castle of Castillon, rode out attended by twenty-six of the name. Another of Paul's sons, Jean Jacques Trapaud, married Marguerite, daughter by Jeanne Cornuand of Pierre du Foussat, ex-judge of Rauzan, and procureur-général to the Prince de Turenne. About the same period a Hélié de Lafargue of Bordeaux married Lydie, daughter of Pierre de Caumont, and aunt of the future Major Pierre Raymond de Lয়ারde (mentioned in Lidie Grenouilleau's will, *vide infra*, p. 272), whose mother was a native of Castillon. For the above particulars I am indebted to the "Trapaud Memoirs," by Miss Ida H. Lyard, still in MS.

1679) has deputed him as "ancien" to the Provincial Synod at Clairac, almost the last to be held in that part of France.<sup>1</sup> At the time when he is introduced to us by our documents, on the eve of the Revocation, he is well on in years, probably over sixty. He lives in the town of Castillon, not in the *faubourg*, and he has by his wife, Elizabeth Trapaud, two sons and two daughters, all married, *viz.* :—

(1) *Jean*, a doctor like his father, and married to Esther Brun.

(2) *Anne*, wife of Hélie Marcon.

(3) *Elizabeth*, wife of Pasteur Denis, the same, presumably, who attended the Clairac Synod as minister of Pujols-de-Rauzan, an important village within sight of Castillon on the opposite side of the valley.<sup>2</sup>

(4) *Samuel*, an advocate in Parliament, born about 1660, and married, 12th November, 1684, to that Lidie Grenouilleau who is the heroine of this narrative.

At the time of her marriage, Lidie, barely twenty years of age, and like her husband, who was only four years older, still in the eyes of the law a minor, lived in the *faubourg* of Castillon with her mother, Elizabeth Brun, who had migrated thither from Libourne after the death of her husband, Maître Jean Grenouilleau, seven years previously.<sup>3</sup>

From the marriage certificate it appears that the ceremony was performed by Elie Royère, "amy de l'épouse,"<sup>4</sup> in the presence of the bridegroom's brother, Docteur Jean de Lafargue, of his brother-in-law, Hélie Marcon, husband of his sister Anne, of Isaac Grenouilleau, the younger, brother of the bride, and her second cousin, Jacques d'Ailly, related through the du Foussat.

<sup>1</sup> *La France Protestante*, 1st ed., vol. viii., p. 223.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>3</sup> "Cimetière de la Religion Réformée de Coutras. Enseveli le 25 Oct. 1677, Me Jean Grenouilleau, vivant avocat-ès-la-Cour, hab. de la ville de Libourne. Presents, Sieurs Jean Queyssac et Hélie Marcon, beaufrère et neveu du dit sieur defunt, hab. de la ville de Castillon." Jean Grenouilleau presumably practised in the Cour des Aydes, which sat at Libourne. The family appears to have had an hereditary connection both with the profession of the law and with the Protestant faith. A Jean Grenouilleau was judge of Castillon in 1650 (Minutes de Castillon). Isaac Grenouilleau, godfather to two of Lidie's children, had also held the same post. A Daniel de Grenouilleau, of Bordeaux, was in 1676 "avocat en la Cour de Parlement et Chambre de l'Édit de Guyenne" (Registres Protestants, Bordeaux). In 1679 a Grenouilleau, advocate, represented the Chambre de l'Édit at the Synod of Clairac, and fifty years earlier an Isaac Grenouilleau attended the national synod at Castres as elder of the Church of Castelmoron.

<sup>4</sup> He was minister at Libourne and at the Revocation retired with his children to Holland (*La France Protestante*, 1st ed., vol. ix., sub *Royère*).



Of this marriage there were four children.

(1) *Isaac*, born the 7th and baptised the 11th of July, 1686, his sponsors being Isaac Grenouilleau, the elder, "avocat en Parlement" and formerly Judge of Castillon, for whom Pierre Marcon stood proxy, and Dlle Izabeau Trapaud.<sup>1</sup>

(2) *Jean*, born 6th June, 1687, between five and six o'clock in the evening, and called after his uncle, Dr. Jean de Lafargue, Dlle Marthe Grenouilleau being his other sponsor. He died in infancy in August, 1688, a month before his godfather's flight.<sup>2</sup>

(3) *Hélizabeth*, born 21st February, 1689, and baptised the following day. Her godparents were Isaac Grenouilleau and Hélizabeth Lafargue, but as a Marcon signs the register, it may be inferred that M. Grenouilleau was still absent.<sup>3</sup>

(4) *Hélies*, born 9th August, 1690; sponsors, Hélies Marcon and Anne Lafargue, his uncle and aunt.<sup>4</sup>

This is the little Elias who, after surviving many perils by land and sea, was destined to spend the last thirty years of his life, far from his sunny birthplace, as the incumbent of a small parish on the verge of the melancholy Lincolnshire fens.

But before this son of the persecution was born the storm had already burst upon Castillon. The "dragonnades" had been inflicted on the surrounding district as early as 1683, and with the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes (22nd October, 1685) abjurations began on every side. With scarcely an exception the members of the numerous Trapaud family abjured in each of their villages even before the actual day of the Revocation. In the jurisdiction of Castillon the abjurations commenced on 29th August, 1685. On the same day at the neighbouring Saint-Magne M. Pandicault, the Curé, registered in the Church books the names of a hundred "nouveaux convertis".<sup>5</sup> Second on this list is a Samuel Trapaud, twenty-first an Isabeau Grenouilleau, and eighty-second a Pierre Lagarde. Probably the Lafargues held out a little longer, for with one exception their names do not occur until 1688, 1689 and 1692.

Old Doctor Samuel de Lafargue, evidently foreseeing trouble ahead, made his will at Castillon in 1686. He died after abjuring on 6th September, 1688, and was buried on the following

<sup>1</sup> Reg. Castillon.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>5</sup> These lists, as well as the other duplicates of Church Registers, are preserved at the Tribunal Criminel et Civil at Libourne, Rue Thiers.

day in the graveyard behind the Church of St. Symphorien.<sup>1</sup> His wife survived him less than a year, dying, still far from old, on 18th August, 1689, also after having received the Sacrament of Penitence.<sup>2</sup> Her eldest son, Jean, had fled, as we shall see, in the same month in which his father died, and there was only her second son, Samuel, and her son-in-law, Hélie Marcon, to attend her obsequies.

The flight of Doctor Jean de Lafargue with his family is proved by the will of Alain Joeint de Laulan, seigneur of the noble houses of La Borie and Cazalis. He was a friend of Jean Jacques Trapaud and had married Renée des Martens, Demoiselle de la Combe, a Huguenot niece of Samuel Forestier, a painter who lived in Paris. In 1684 Mme de Laulan, on the eve of her departure for Paris on family business, made a will conjointly with her husband. She returned to her home and left again for Paris on the same errand. For six months her husband received letters from her, then followed an unbroken silence, which was never explained. M. de Laulan's only son was in the Dutch service, "therefore," as he pitifully writes in a new will, dated 20th November, 1688, "being old, infirm, and without wife or child," he had charged M. de la Fargue, doctor, to be his executor and to take charge of his property. But "M. de la Fargue two months ago had retired with his family to England," so that he felt obliged to nominate another executor, *viz.*, Maître Trapaud, husband of Marguerite du Foussat.

Jean de Lafargue must have returned to Castillon, or some one else must have been his proxy, for, on 8th May, 1692, he stood godfather to Marie, daughter of Dr. Pierre Seignette and Elizabeth Denis, evidently a relation, as his sister Elizabeth had married Pastor Denis. The last we hear of him is again in England on 1st August, 1706, when he was sponsor with Margaret Villotte to the daughter of the Revd. Gideon de Lamotte, minister of the Leicester-Fields Church.<sup>3</sup>

Other recantations soon followed, amongst them those of Anne Lafargue, wife of M. Hélie Marcon, of Anne Marcon,

<sup>1</sup> "Maistre Samuel de la Fargue, Docteur en Médecine, apres avoir reçu les sacraments de pénitence, enseveli le 7 Septembre. Assistés, Messieurs Pierre et Hélie Marcon" (Reg., Castillon).

<sup>2</sup> "Enterrée à Castillon le 19 Aout, Isabeau Trapaud, âgée d'environ 60 ans, veuve de M. Samuel Lafargue, Docteur en Médecine, ensevelie apres avoir reçue les sacraments de pénitence. Assistés, M. Samuel de la Fargue, avocat, son fils, M. Hélie Marcon, son gendre" (Registres à la Mairie, Castillon).

<sup>3</sup> Register, Leicester Fields, p. 105.



daughter of Pierre Marcon and Elizabeth Queyssac, and of a son of Mademoiselle Grenouilleau.<sup>1</sup>

Finally, under the date 8th August, 1692, there is a list entitled "Estat de nouveaux convertis, qui ont satisfait au devoir paschal l'année présente," which includes the following:—

M. Marcon, l'avocat.

M. Trapaud, l'avocat et sa femme.

Anne Marcon, fille à M. Marcon, l'avocat.

Esther Brun, fille à M. Pierre Brun.<sup>2</sup>

Isabeau Brun, vefue de feu M<sup>e</sup> Grenouilleau.

Marie Marcon, veufue de M. Lafarge (*sic*).

M. Lafargue, avocat.

In this last entry we recognise the poor young husband, Samuel de Lafargue, who, by the strangest of fates, died on the very day, 8th August, 1692, on which his submission was officially recorded. He was buried on the morrow—the second birthday of his little Elias—by M. Soliols, Vicar of St. Symphorien.<sup>3</sup>

What may have led to so premature a death we can only darkly surmise. In those cruel days it was no uncommon thing for Huguenots in the prime of life to die within a short period of their abjuration, a fact which bears pregnant witness to the intensity of the strain they were called upon to endure. In the year that witnessed the death of Samuel de Lafargue a new wave of persecution had overwhelmed the surrounding country. The towns of Sainte-Foy, Duras, Gensac, Sigoulès and Nérac, where the proscribed faith had lately shown signs of revival, had become the scenes of fresh barbarities. The era of informers and arrests had returned. Houses were razed to the ground, children were torn from their parents, women were imprisoned for life, men condemned to death or to the galleys. Benoit ends his long *History of the Edict of Nantes* with the story of these latest atrocities, which when he wrote were only a few years old.<sup>4</sup>

Whatever share these horrors may have had in hastening the death of the young husband, there can be but little doubt that they largely determined his widow's flight. The last

<sup>1</sup> Married women of birth were still called by their maiden title.

<sup>2</sup> Her mother's name, Marie Brun, wife of M. Pierre Brun, had been written above hers and erased.

<sup>3</sup> "Le neuvième Août 1692 a esté ensevelis Monsieur Lafargue, avocat-en-Parlement, âgé de trente trois ans environ, mourant le huit précédent, Soliols, Vicaire" (Registres, Castillon).

<sup>4</sup> Vol. iii., p. 1002.



tie that bound her to her home had been severed, and escape was the only means by which she could at once retain her own religious liberty and save her children from the fate which she daily saw overtaking the children of her few remaining friends. Many already had fled before her. There was scarcely one of the prominent houses of Castillon which had not contributed its quota to the exodus. Of each of the families of du Foussat, Marcon, Trapaud, Brun, Denis, de Layaarde one or more had "passés a l'Étrangère". In short, of the little band of Protestants whom we have seen but a few years before dwelling together in amity in the little town set between the river and the hills, scarcely one was left to worship their God in the old way. Death, flight or abjuration had accounted for all. Such is the tragedy of torn and bleeding hearts that we may read, by the lurid light of history, between the faded lines of these old registers.

The scene now shifts to England, and interest centres in the devoted young mother who has to make a new home for herself and her children. She has succeeded in rescuing a modest competence from the wreck of her husband's fortune; a century later her grandson Peter disposes by will of two long exchequer annuities of £10 each, still standing in her name. She has also brought with her some diamonds, plate and trinkets, amongst them an old silver seal engraved with the de Lafargue arms and Count's coronet to prove her distant kinship, did she care to claim it, with Charles VII.'s Master of the Pantry, with Louis XIV.'s waiting-gentleman and with little Jean Baptiste de Lafargue,<sup>1</sup> but two months younger than her own Elias, who is destined to live far on into the next century and to die full of years and of honours. But she has broken for good and all with the old country, and, like so many of her fellow-exiles, is even careless of retaining before her name the coveted particle of rank. Yet with pious affection she has conveyed across the water four family portraits, to be refitted in England with the appropriate unobtrusive frames of the period. That these canvasses, so sedulously preserved, so closely clung to when so much else was abandoned, must have been endeared to her by the most sacred associations, who can doubt?

Three of them are well and solidly painted, evidently by a master's hand, and present a striking family resemblance. The most important and most attractive of them is the

<sup>1</sup> *Vide supra*, p. 255.

portrait of a young man, well under thirty I should judge, wearing the gown and bands of an advocate. The narrow, oval face with its youthful contour is framed in a magnificent brown wig, which descends in curls on to the shoulders. A hand, which matches the face in its sensitive refinement, emerging from the white ruffle of the sleeve, relieves the sombreness of the black robe. The complexion of the sitter is dark, as evidenced by the thick, well-marked eyebrows and the blueish shade on the shaven lips. The mouth is not prepossessing, but it is amply atoned for by the delicately chiselled nose and by the beautiful, earnest, clear brown eyes which gaze at one with quite a kindly seriousness and give the picture its singular appeal and charm. In the family this portrait has always been known as "The President"; but, as I have said, there is no evidence to support such an ascription, Guillaume, son of Robert de Lafargue, who came nearest to that rank, having been only distantly, if at all, related to the Castillon branch. I prefer to regard it as the portrait of Samuel de Lafargue, the younger, painted a few years before his death, when as yet no cloud had arisen to threaten the prosperity, the peace and even the very existence of the family.

The next portrait, known by tradition as "The Marquis," is of a very different type. The heavy, lax and somewhat sensuous mouth of the other portraits is there, only rather exaggerated, and there is nothing in the expression of the eyes to redeem it. They wear, on the contrary, a cynical, even arrogant expression, and there is about the whole portrait a magnificent, full-blooded, reckless hauteur, which goes some way to confirm the family tradition that the original was a courtier in the early days of Louis XIV., one, perhaps, of those imitators of their master to whom the sobriquet of "Marquis" was currently applied by way rather of ridicule than of respect. It is to be observed that there is the same peculiar depression in the line of the right eyebrow, as in the portrait of "The President," but in other respects the two types of face are widely different.

The third portrait, that of a portly, dignified, well-preserved old gentleman in a full grey wig, has points in common with both the preceding ones. The shape of the head and the lower part of the face remind one of "The Marquis," but the eyes, with their mild, sad earnestness, are not unlike those of "The President". One might catalogue the picture as "Portrait of a Huguenot" without any of that sense of

incongruity with which one would attach the same label to "The Marquis". I wish I had better grounds than I have for believing that we have here a portrait of old Samuel de Lafargue, "Médecin du Roy". The fourth portrait—evidently a replica—is that of a young man with the family mouth, but is otherwise of no very great interest.

With these portraits and but little else to remind her of her old home, Lidie Grenouilleau settled down at first in Westminster, but eventually removed to a house at Hammersmith, which at that date was one of the pleasantest places of residence in the neighbourhood of London. "For above a hundred years past," writes John Bowack in 1705,<sup>1</sup> it "has been a summer retreat for nobility and wealthy citizens," having "several good houses in and about it, inhabited by gentry and persons of quality." The Queen Dowager, widow of Charles II., had lived there for some years in a mansion subsequently occupied, until his death in 1714, by the famous Dr. Radcliffe. The houses clustered mostly by the river side, on the Upper and Lower Mall, along that quiet highway, the Bath Road, here known as King Street, in Queen Street, leading from Broadway to the river, and about that pleasant, elongated patch of verdure, Brook Green. All around were market gardens famous for their early fruit, and lonely country lanes, not very safe to traverse after nightfall.

But what chiefly attracted our young widow to Hammersmith, in addition to the quiet amenity of the place, reminding her, perhaps, in some distant way of her own stream-bordered Castillon, was no doubt the fact that it was the home of a small Huguenot colony and the seat of one of the few extra-urban French churches. The colony had recently lost its most distinguished member, in the person of Louis de Saint Delis, Marquis de Heucourt, who died 17th December, 1693, a generous benefactor to his poorer fellow-exiles, though, to quote his epitaph in Hammersmith Church, "*Relictis quas amplias habebat opibus, Religionis causâ*". But his widow, his "*uxor moerens, . . . Eliz. nobilissima Le Compt de Normant, Familiâ oriunda*," was no doubt still a resident. And the Lannoys, Sir Timothy and his brother-in-law, the well-known Turkey merchants and silk dyers, had just purchased of Prince Rupert's mistress Brandenburg House, the splendid riverside mansion built by Sir Nicholas Crispe in the time of

<sup>1</sup> *The Antiquities of Middlesex*, p. 35.

Charles I., and had established their dye-works in adjoining buildings. The Des Charmes, the eminent watchmakers of Suffolk Street, Pall Mall, had settled in Hammersmith with many of their fellow-refugees soon after the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes.<sup>1</sup> Simon Des Charmes bought a piece of land in the angle between King Street and Brook Green Lane, and here in 1730 he built himself a large house, Grove Hall, abutting on Broadway, with an extensive garden behind it. His son David, who had more or less Anglicised his name into de Charms, resided there until 1783, the date on his tombstone in Hammersmith Churchyard. In Rocques' map of Hammersmith (1746) Captain David de Charms enjoys the unique distinction of having his little estate indicated by his name.<sup>2</sup> Simon Des Charmes and his wife Heloma were, as we shall see, related to Marianne Du Désert Dieu, who subsequently became the wife of Elias Lafargue, and it is not impossible that the two young people may have first met each other under the Des Charmes' roof.

Among other Huguenot residents we may probably also include Jean Armand du Bourdieu, minister with his father to the French Church in the Savoy, and chaplain to the Duke of Devonshire, for the Hammersmith Parish Register records the burial on 21st May, 1705, of "Charlatta Eliza, daughter of Mr. John Harmand de Bourdieu, a French Minister, and Esther". I have not found the name of his wife, or even the fact of his marriage, mentioned in any notice of this Du Bourdieu.

There was also no doubt quite a colony of Huguenot workmen settled at Hammersmith, as names like Azire, Centlivre, Duchesnay, Pigou, Ribouteau, etc., are met with in the old Parish Register; which lends interest to the fact that on 11th October, 1694, the churchwardens collected "for the French Protestants' Breafe, ye sum of Seven Pounds, Ten Shillings". At any rate there were Huguenots enough in the neighbourhood to provide a congregation for the little French Church which existed in the vicinity of Brook Green. It is

<sup>1</sup> According to F. J. Britten (*Old Clocks and Watches and Their Makers*, London, 1899), Simon Des Charmes was admitted brother of the Clock-Makers' Company in 1691 and his period of activity lasted from 1688 to 1730. David Des Charmes was admitted 1692 and retired from business in 1740. Their watches were inscribed "Des Charmes, London".

<sup>2</sup> A Miss de Charms of Hammersmith was married at Fulham Church, 15th December, 1794 (*Gentleman's Magazine*, vol. lxiv., p. 1204). The Rev. William Descharmes, late a minor Canon of Windsor, died 19th November, 1772 (*ibid.*, vol. xlii., p. 549).



mentioned in the Court Rolls, but its exact situation cannot now be identified.<sup>1</sup> In 1702, M. Bernard Richon was its minister, witness the following extract from the Hammersmith Parish Register, "Feb. 8, 1702-3, Bernard Hulin and Louise Tritot was (*sic*) married in the French Church by M. Bernard Richon, Minister". By 1706 he had been succeeded by M. Muzars (or Mazors), who was one of the poor French Ministers to whom in that year the Royal Bounty was extended.<sup>2</sup>

The next minister of whom we have information is Jean Pierre Stéhélin, a man of great erudition, who had received Anglican ordination in 1724, and who in 1729 served with three of his colleagues on the "Comité Ecclésiastique" which distributed the bounty allotted under Royal Warrant to "poor French distressed ministers" (Burn, J. S., *op. cit.*, p. 22). In July, 1729, a high-handed attempt on the part of the Consistory of the Church of La Patente in Soho to impose M. Stéhélin as minister on the allied Church of West Street without previous consultation led to a final rupture between the two congregations.<sup>3</sup> From 1730 to his death in 1753 Stéhélin was one of the ministers of La Patente, probably (*cf.* Lidie Grenouilleau's will) retaining his connection with Hammersmith as well until 1736, when a new alliance between the Soho Church and the three congregations of Leicester Fields, Rider's Court and the Artillery secured a share of his services for that group of Churches. He was a Fellow of the Royal Society and is said to have made himself master of twenty languages.<sup>4</sup> Mr. Burn states, without giving his authority, that the Rev. Jaques Parent was minister to the French Church at Hammersmith in 1752, being joined four years later by Lecteur du Carré, *i.e.*, one of the Readers at the Church of Le Quarré. There is conclusive evidence, however, that the Church was still in existence in June, 1735.<sup>5</sup>

Of this little suburban congregation Lidie Grenouilleau was no doubt one of the staunchest supporters until her death,

<sup>1</sup> Faulkner, Thomas, *The History and Antiquities of the Parish of Hammersmith*, London, 1839, from which much of the above information is derived.

<sup>2</sup> *Bibliotheca*, Lambeth, 941-64. A Jaques Desmazures or de Mazures was appointed minister to St. Martin Ongars Church in 1727 and to the church in Threadneedle Street in 1730. In Jacob Bourdillon's Jubilee Sermon (1782) his name appears on the list of ministers who had died abroad (*cf.* Burn, J. S., *Foreign Protestant Refugees*, London, 1846, pp. 35, 119, 155 and 163).

<sup>3</sup> *Proceedings of the Huguenot Society of London*, vol. vi., pp. 289-91.

<sup>4</sup> Burn, J. S., *op. cit.*, p. 137.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 120.

forty years after she had first set foot in England. Of the manner of her life and conversation during that long period we have but little information. That she had yet more sorrow to bear, we know. Two of the three children whom she had rescued from the Catholic clutch died before her. There is a tradition that her elder son, Isaac, was ruined by the South Sea bubble and subsequently drowned at sea, but it is only a tradition. So we are left to gather what light we may from her will, which she executed 10th May, 1732, within a few days of her death, and which was proved in the Prerogative Court of Canterbury by the sole executor, her son Elias, on the 1st of the following month.

That she was of a kindly, charitable and devoutly religious spirit is evident from the most perfunctory perusal of this document. It opens with an earnest expression of Evangelical faith which, on her lips at least, one feels to be something more than a mere pious formula. She leaves £15 to the French poor of the French Church of Hammersmith and £5 to its minister, Monsieur Stelin (*sic*). The bulk of her property goes of course to her son and his children, but in the event of his dying without issue, she bequeaths her two long exchequer annuities of £10 each to Daniel Layard, son of Major Layard of Canterbury, and the residue of her fortune in equal shares between the Hospital of La Providence and "La Soupe des pauvres Français dans le quartier de Soho," *i.e.*, no doubt, the French House of Charity in Hog Lane, Soho, a similar institution to the one in Spitalfields, which, according to Maitland, was commonly called "The Soup".<sup>1</sup> She makes various small bequests to certain of her friends, ladies of refugee French families like herself, *viz.*, Mlle Marie Lagarde de Malrommé, Mlle Lanouaille, and Mlle Villote;<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Maitland, W., *History of London*, 1772, vol. ii., p. 1303.

<sup>2</sup> Malromé is a small village, close to St-Jean-de-Duras, about ten miles to the south of Sainte-Foy and some twenty-five miles from Castillon. In the Archives, Dep. B, Cour des Aides, Noblesse (*cf. Fonds Drouyn*, vol. xxxiii., p. 151), is a short paper on "Titres de Noblesse," dated 5th May, 1668, and referring to three brothers, sons of Jacob de Genestes, *viz.*, Alain, Seigneur de Malroumés, Jean, Sieur de Lagarde, and Antoine, Sieur des Phalies. Jean de Lagarde served in 1667 in a foot regiment commanded by the Marquis de Duras.

Mlle Lanouaille was probably related to the de La Nouaille of Gensac in Guienne, which place was represented by its minister, François de la Nouaille, at the tenth National Synod at Figeac, 2nd August, 1579. J. de La Nouaille represented the same Church as elder at the National Synod of Tonneins in 1614. The following year a La Nouaille, "avocat au Parlement de Bordeaux," was deputy for Basse-Guienne at the Political Assembly of Grenoble.

A Margaret Villote (see p. 265) was sponsor with Dr. Jean de Lafargue in



gives £10 to her goddaughter, Lidie Battut,<sup>1</sup> disposes of her clothes and house-linen, and to the servant who shall serve her at the time of her decease she leaves, in the quaint English of Mr. Thos. Tyllot's translation, preserved at Somerset House, her "Robes de Chamber, some few of the Linnen and one year's wages".

Her signature, in the handwriting of one never very facile with the pen and now tremulous with age and advancing weakness, is witnessed by Jean Lagarde and Jean Labourdette. The seal presents the impression of a small signet ring bearing the de Lafargue arms, which are similar to those given in the *Nobiliaire Universel*, with the exception that the three fir-cones are replaced by three hemispheres. The shield is surmounted by a helmet in profile with four bars, indicating the rank of a lesser noble.

It is from its omissions, however, that the will of Lidie Grenouilleau derives its chief pathos. Of all the friends of her youth not one finds mention in it. Should her own issue fail, it is not to Dr. John de Lafargue or his children, not to a Grenouilleau, or a Brun, or a Marcon, or a Denis, that the bulk of her property is to descend, but to a distant cousin and to two charities. The inference is that, but for her son and his wife and a few acquaintances, Lidie Grenouilleau died as, since her migration, she had lived, in loneliness. Contrast for a moment the life which opened for her at Castillon on her marriage—the well-appointed home, the troops of cousins and friends, with their ardent, gay, passionate Gascon nature becomingly tempered by the discipline of their creed, the warm and cheerful days spent largely in the open air, the little family festivals, the merry sympathetic gossipings in the little town where each knew all; contrast all this with the cold, repressed, bereaved and lonely years at Hammersmith, and you will realise abundantly the intimate pathos of such broken lives as that of our heroic widow.

Much has been written of the distinguished refugees who found or were given a career in this country and thereby enjoyed a freer and fuller life than any they could ever have

1706 to the daughter of Rev. Gideon de Lamotte, and was present at the marriage of Isaac Guibert and Susanne Vergnol, one of whose sons was a godchild of Lidie Grenouilleau.

<sup>1</sup> She had apparently another godchild in the person of Philippe, son of Isaac Guibert and Susanne Vergnol (married at *Le Quarré*, 10th Dec., 1700), who was baptised 30th May, 1714, v. Register "*Les Grecs*".



hoped for in France. Due tribute has been paid to the thousands of skilled and thrifty artisans and their wives, who endowed the country of their choice with new industries and its population with new sources of efficiency. But little has been said or written to my knowledge of the solitary, inarticulate women of the refuge, of the widows and spinsters, often of gentle birth and nurture, who had torn themselves up by the roots from their old homes, friends and occupations, and who had to live on as best they might in a new soil, in an unaccustomed climate and amongst a strange and not very sympathetic people. Of the silent, unobtrusive heroism of these Ruths of the migration, whose very presence in this country was a testimony to the force of their character and the reality of their religion, it is right that we should now and then take note. No more is claimed for Lidie Grenouilleau than that she was one amongst hundreds of earnest and brave Huguenot women, through whom, whether by example or by inheritance, our English life to-day is the richer in seriousness, in purity and in strength.

During the last nine years of her life, in addition to her other trials, Lidie Grenouilleau had to endure separation from the only survivor of her children, Elias, who had accepted a living in Lincolnshire at a distance not easily or cheaply traversed in those days. Of the early life and training of Elias Lafargue little is known. Born, as we have seen, in 1690, he proceeded in due course to Clare College, Cambridge, and took his B.A. degree in 1713 and his M.A. in 1717. In the following year he is said to have revisited his birthplace, with what object or with what result we know not. The date of his entering Holy Orders is equally uncertain, but he seems to have become acquainted with Lord Chancellor Macclesfield, who had an amiable *penchant* for befriending and advancing young men of promise and who, in 1723, shortly before his fall, presented the young refugee to the Chancellor's living of Greatford with Wilsthorpe in Lincolnshire.

Early in the following year, Elias Lafargue was married at St. Bartholomew's Church, near the Exchange, London, to Mariamna, or Marianne, the only daughter of Peter James du Desert Dieu, a refugee from Saint-Lô in Normandy, and one of the founders and first directors of the French Hospital of La Providence, who gave her a dowry of £500. Colchester was her birthplace, but at the time of her marriage she was

living in the parish of St. James's, Westminster, and must have been fully ten years younger than her husband.<sup>1</sup>

The marriage is an interesting one. For it brought into alliance two strains of Huguenot blood from widely separated parts of France, uniting the warm, impulsive spirit of the Gascon with the Norman's more sedate and perhaps more stubborn temperament. The wife had fully as good reason to be proud of her ancestry as her husband, for her mother's father was no other than that old Bastille prisoner, Pierre Samson de Cahanel of Saint-Lô, whose unswerving constancy to his faith in spite of the most cruel, persistent and insidious assaults upon it places him high upon the Huguenot record.

I hope on some future occasion to have the privilege of telling the story of M. de Cahanel's sufferings from the original documents. At present suffice it to say that after nearly three years' imprisonment, over ten months of which were spent in the Bastille, he was banished from his country as an incurable heretic, his property, which appears to have been considerable, being handed over to those members of his family who were or had become Catholics. Three of his four daughters joined him in his exile in this country, and found husbands amongst their fellow-refugees. Elianor married Peter, son of Robert Abraham Luard of Caen, and became the mother of Peter Abraham Luard, the well-known Hamburg merchant (born 1703, died 1768); Anne married Francis Mariette of Spitalfields; while Judith or Jusita became the wife of Peter James du Desert Dieu, and had for her only child Marianne, the wife of Elias Lafargue. At the time of her marriage, which took place at the Church of Le Quarre, 26th October, 1700, in the presence of Pierre Samson de Cahanel and M. de la Fontaine, "*parans et amis*," Judith Samson was residing in the parish of St. Anne, Soho.<sup>2</sup>

The little village of Greatford (or, as it was often spelt formerly, Gretford), to which Elias Lafargue brought his young wife, is one of the quietest, most out-of-the-world places one can well imagine. It lies far away from any stream of traffic, and is reached only by country by-ways, though now the Great Northern expresses thunder by a mile to the west of it, as once the Roman legions marching

<sup>1</sup> "1724, Janry. 28th. Revd. Elias La Fargue of Gretford in Lincolnshire and Mariamna Du Desert of St. James, Westminster, were married by licence" (Register, Saint Bartholomew's).

<sup>2</sup> Register, Le Quarre, p. 107.

from Castor (near Peterborough, the old Durobrivæ) to Lincoln tramped past it a mile to the east. It is situated on the little river Glen, in the heart of what may be called the Hereward country. Bourn lies five miles to the north, Stamford town with its twin spires as many miles to the south-west. Eastward the ground gently subsides to the dead level of Deeping Fen, from which, rising out of the green plain ten miles away, can be seen in clear weather the lofty, massive tower of Crowland Abbey.

The living is not rich, worth a bare £300 a year, but it seems to be a favourite one amongst the local hierarchy, probably because its slender duties leave leisure for other work within the diocese, and twice at least within the last hundred years it has had for its rector the holder of that "ancient peculiar," the Deanery of Stamford.

In former times, too, the village appears to have been a favourite place of residence with the commercial aristocracy of the district, the rich merchants of the wool-staple of Calais and their successors. The beautiful, old fifteenth-century hall was thus occupied in succession for over two centuries by the Halls of Grantham and by the Brownes of Stamford, Francis Browne being its bachelor owner and occupant during nearly the whole period of Elias Lafargue's tenure of the living.<sup>1</sup> Subsequently, in 1780, it was leased as a private asylum to the Rev. Francis Willis, M.D., familiar to us, from the old jingle "The King sees three physicians daily, Willis, Heberden and Baillie, etc.," as one of the doctors who ministered to the diseased mind of George III.

Here at Greatford in the then small but substantial brick parsonage, facing the west, Elias Lafargue lived for thirty years a retired and uneventful life, serving his two Churches apparently without the aid of a curate, and investing his

<sup>1</sup> In an old churchwarden's book of vestry minutes and parish accounts, now in the possession of the present Rector of Greatford, the Rev. H. Joy, D.D., to whose kindness I am indebted for the information, the signatures of E. Lafargue and Fra. Browne appear together before those of other parishioners. Down to June, 1750, when a new handwriting appears, most of the accounts are entered in a script which closely resembles the then rector's signature. The following entries are of interest: "Memorandum. That the piece of land that lyes south of ye parsonage house and glebe is part of the parsonage close and is a way to it: Witness our hands this 3<sup>d</sup> of May 1733." Signed by E. Lafargue and others. "1736 April 27, Mr. Lafargue for the Clock-piece and Church meadow One Pound, Seven Shill. and sixpence, to be paid next Ascension Day, 1737." "Thursday May ye 15, Ascension Day, 1740, Lett to Mr. Lafargue one acre of the Church land for year 1740 £0 5s. 0d." The same yearly rent of five shillings appears in the accounts down to 1748.



small economies from time to time in the judicious purchase of land in the neighbourhood. In 1728 he gave £675 for a small farm in Norfolk; ten years later he bought a strip of rich fen-land within a few miles of his home, and at an unknown date he purchased from a brother cleric a pasture close at Stamford known as the Bowling Green. In April, 1752, shortly before his death, he was appointed by the Dean and Chapter of Lincoln Rector of Braceborough, a small village within a mile of Greatford, adding thereby another £200 a year to his income. Whether he or his wife had other children than their son Peter, who was not born until they had been married fourteen years, we have no means of knowing, as the parish registers of Greatford do not reach farther back than 1770.<sup>1</sup>

Elias Lafargue died in the autumn of 1753. By his will, dated 1st August and proved 23rd October in that year, he leaves "unto my dear and loving wife all my plate and linnen, and all my household furniture of what kind soever, chariot, chaise and horses". He makes provision for his son's education and maintenance and bequeaths his personal estate equally between him and his mother. In the event of his son dying without issue, his property is to be equally divided, after his wife's death, between his own and her relatives, the latter being Mr. Peter Luard, merchant in London, M. Charles de la Fontaine, also merchant in London, and Mrs. Heloma Descharmes, widow of Mr. Simon Descharmes of Suffolk Street in London. The two former are appointed, with his wife, trustees for his son during his minority and executors of his will.

Elias Lafargue, as we have seen, had property in the neighbouring town of Stamford, and thither after his death his widow retired with her young son, Peter, so named no doubt after her father. She survived her husband nearly a quarter of a century, and having lived to see her son a husband, a father and a widower, and to hold the first child of

<sup>1</sup> M. du Desert Dieu appears to have spent his declining years in the same village if not in the same house with his daughter, for in his will executed 9th October, 1786 (witnesses, Anne de la Fontaine, Mary de la Fontaine and William Bland), and proved 14th October, 1745, he describes himself as of Greatford and leaves mourning to the rectory servants. He constitutes Elias Lafargue his executor with a bequest of Twenty Pounds, leaves Three Pounds to the poor of Greatford and the remainder of his estate to his "dear and only daughter," Marianne Lafargue, and her children, and in their default to whomsoever she may appoint. He further directs that he shall be buried in the church at Greatford.

his second marriage upon her knee, she died in September, 1776, and was buried at Greatford.<sup>1</sup>

Stamford, owing partly to its position on that ancient artery of traffic, the Great North Road, was in those days a more important place than it is now. In it centred the intellectual and religious life of the district. Its six Churches, its Bedehouse, its free Grammar School, to say nothing of the many country parishes around, supplied a clerical nucleus and gave a sedate and serious tone to its society, largely recruited, as it was, from the overflow of the neighbouring country seats, the dowagers and spinsters of good family, who found in the ancient borough, in its solid stone houses and the secluded gardens behind them, an almost cloistral security and peace. In front the houses, when not protected by quaint old posts and chains, abutted directly on the wide and silent streets, silent, that is to say, except when choked with horses and cattle, with booths and hucksters at the periodical fairs, or scoured by a shouting mob at the annual bull-baiting, which lingered on well into the nineteenth century, a scene of licensed, time-honoured disorder.

Peter Lafargue found the tranquil and easy life of the little town so much to his taste, that, except for his period of residence at Queen's College, Cambridge, where he took his B.A. degree in 1762 and his M.A. three years later, he spent the rest of his days there, adding one more to its clerical cohort. He lived, at any rate during his later years, upon his own freehold, a large low house with two gables, but recently demolished, across which, soon after midday, the graceful spire of All Saints' Church cast its lengthening shadow. In that church he was married to his first wife, and all except the eldest of his children were baptised. The marriage took place by licence on 15th August, 1769, when he was thirty-one, and his bride, Elizabeth Russell, a girl of seventeen. Her mother, like his, was the widow of a clergyman, and had come to live at Stamford on the death of her husband, the Rev. John Russell, B.L., of Stoke, near Guildford, a near relative of the Dukes of Bedford. Elizabeth was one of three sisters and something of an heiress, her father having formerly held one of the richest livings in England, that of Doddington in the Isle of Ely, worth £7,000 a year. By her Peter Lafargue had two children, (1) *Peter Augustus*, born

<sup>1</sup> "1776, Sept. 22. Burial. Marina Lafargue, widow, from Stamford" (Greatford Register).



5th August, 1770, and (2) *Maria*, born 14th September and baptised at All Saints', 18th October, 1772. Four months later the young wife died of a severe chill at the early age of twenty-one and was buried at Greatford, 22nd February, 1773.

Her husband did not long remain a widower, for in August, 1774, he married a lady much nearer his own age, *viz.*, Elizabeth, youngest daughter of the Rev. James and Lady Dorothy Torkington, born at Little Stukeley, Hunts, 18th May, 1740. Her mother was a Sherrard, the eldest daughter of Philip, second Earl of Harborough, M.P. for Rutland in 1708. Her father was a Prebendary of Worcester and Rector of King's Ripton and Little Stukeley, and her brother, the Rev. John Torkington, D.D., was Master of Clare Hall, Cambridge.<sup>1</sup> Of the four children of this second marriage only one, the eldest, reached adult age, *viz.*, (3) *Elias John*, who was baptised at All Saints' Church, 14th January, 1776, was educated at Uppingham School, married Mary Baines, a widow of that town, and died without issue.

Peter Lafargue died on 16th March, 1804, and was buried at Greatford on the 29th of the same month, his death being thus quaintly recorded in the *Gentleman's Magazine*:<sup>2</sup> "March 16, died at Stamford in his 66th year the Revd. Peter Lafargue, a respectable gentleman of ample fortune, long resident in that place and formerly of Queen's College, Cambridge. Though early ordained in Holy Orders he never held any benefice, but spent a long life in those charitable practices and friendly offices which will make his memory estimable and his loss severe."

His widow survived him just nine years and was buried at Greatford.<sup>3</sup>

In addition to the freehold house at Stamford in which he died Peter Lafargue owned property (1) at Husband's Bosworth in Leicestershire and in the neighbouring parish of Welford in Northamptonshire; (2) at Hoby and Thurcaston, also in the county of Leicester; (3) the farms in Norfolk and Deeping Fen, and the Bowling Green at Stamford, which he had inherited from his father, and property at Helpstone, near Stamford.

By his will, dated 5th September, 1796, with codicils 10th February, 1802, and 13th February, 1804, he left Estate

<sup>1</sup> *The Genealogist*, January, 1883, p. 40 *et seq.*

<sup>2</sup> Vol. lxxiv., p. 383.

<sup>3</sup> "1813, March 4. Burial. Elizabeth Lafargue, widow and second wife to Revd. Peter Lafargue, deceased, fr. Stamford" (Greatford Register).

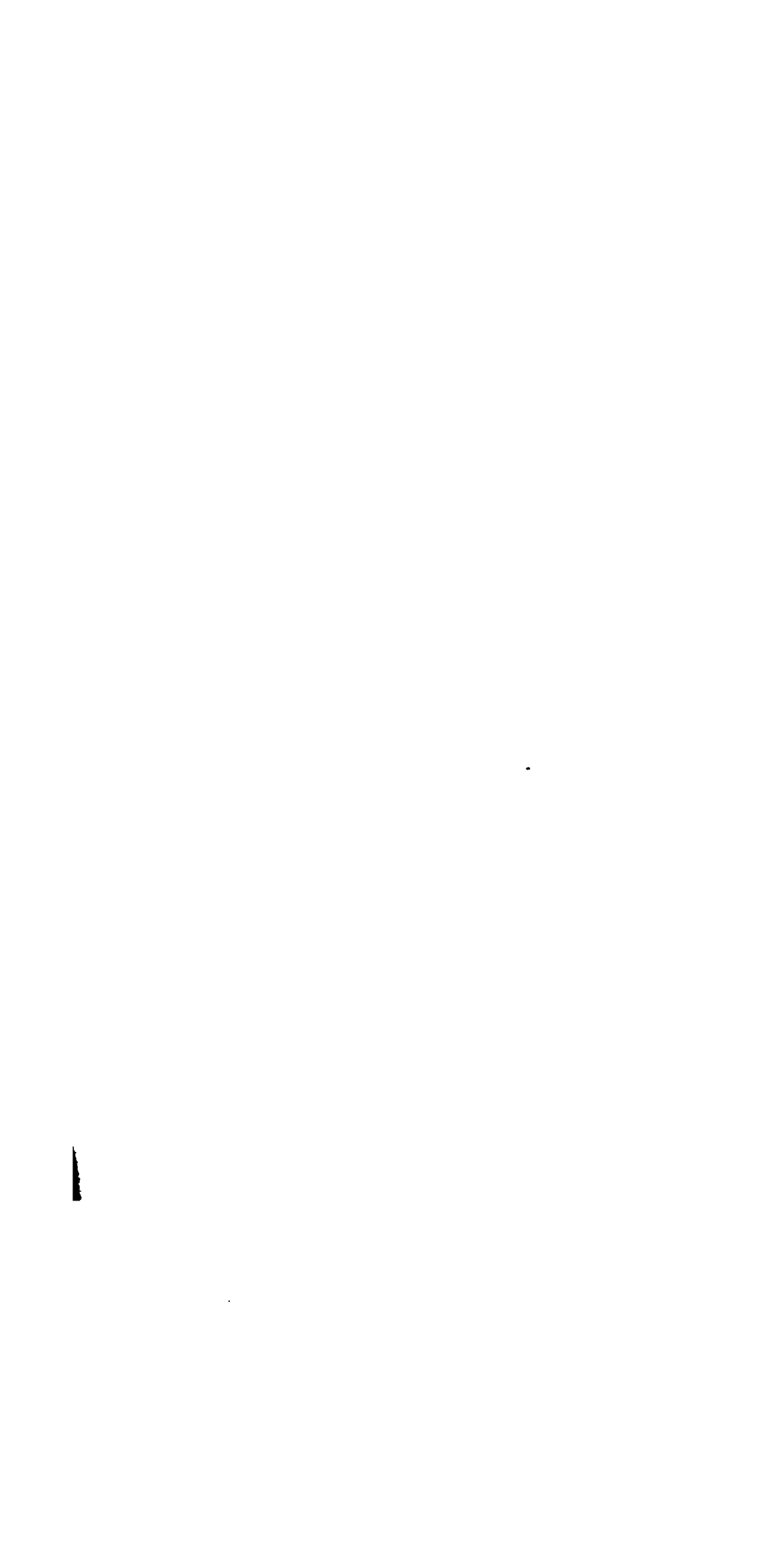


No. 1 on trust for his elder son, Peter Augustus, subject to a rent-charge of £100 a year to his widow for her life "as settled on their marriage"; Estate No. 2 on trust for his son Elias John, subject to a rent-charge of £50 a year to his widow; while Estate No. 3, together with his freehold house, constituted the portion of his daughter Maria, his widow being left a life interest in the Stamford property, together with savings in hand to the amount of £750. He further bequeathed £10 to the poor in each of the five parishes of Stamford and £50 to the poor of Greatford, to be paid to such respective poor as his executors should think worthy objects. And he directed that the sum of £200 should be devoted to his funeral expenses, mourning and the erection of a monument for his family in the chancel of Greatford Church. In the event of a complete failure of direct issue the whole estate was to descend "to the right heirs of testator's late cousin, Peter Abraham Luard, late of the city of London, merchant".

The monument erected by his executors is still to be seen on the north wall of the chancel at Greatford. It bears the following inscription, making no mention of any other member of his family :—

Hic jacet  
 PETRUS LAFARGUE  
 Stamfordiæ in Comitatu Lincolnensi  
 Clericus :  
 Obiit Die Martii 16 Ann : Dom : 1804 ;  
 Qui  
 Piorum Resurrectionem Expectans  
 Deo Omnipotenti  
 Spiritum Reddidit ;  
 Sperans  
 Vitæ Mercedem honestæ,  
 Privatæ Quidem,  
 Sed non minus Mansuetudine et Liberalitate,  
 Tam erga Proximos, quam Suos,  
 Abundantis.

Here, on the threshold of the nineteenth century, we will leave our quiet family. Peter Lafargue, as we have seen, was of unmixed French descent. After him, with each marriage of his posterity, the strain of Huguenot blood becomes more and more diluted, until, like that of most of his exiled compatriots, it is finally absorbed into the general population of the Kingdom, nay, of the Empire. Absorbed, not lost, I say. For it may be safely asserted that, in many insensible



arthe Cardinal.  
Assistée—M.

Jean, Docteur en Médecine, né —, ép. Esther Brun, eut postérité, fugitif en 1688.	Anne, ép. Héliès Marcon, abjura en 1688, à Castillon.	Élizbeth Brun. ép. Pasteur de son mari. viv. en
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Isaac, né le 7 Juillet, bapt. le 11—, 1686. <i>Parrain</i> , M. Isaac Grenouil- leau, ancien juge de Castillon, et à sa place M. Pierre Marcon, Av.-en- Parlt. <i>Marraine</i> , Dlle Izabeau Tra- paud (Reg.).	Jean, né le 6 Juin, 1687. <i>Parrain</i> , Jean La- fargue, Médecin. <i>Marraine</i> , Dlle Marthe Grenouil- leau. <i>Enterrement</i> le 9 Août, 1688, âgé 14 mois (Reg.).	Élizbeth de Cahanel née le 20—, Westminister. <i>Parrain</i> , Grenouil- <i>raine</i> , Lafargue. Lafargue (Reg.).
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Adford, Rector of  
22, 1773.

Brothy Sherrard,  
1818.

Peter Augustus, b. Aug. 5, 1770. Lt.- Col. in Leicester- shire Militia; D.L., County of Leicester. D. Aug. 30, 1844.	1°. Harriet, only child of Robert Hubbard, of Oadby, Leicester. D. Aug. 25, 1815.  2°. Nov. 5, 1816, Mary Ridley, dau. of Rev. Thomas de Lannoy, Rector of East Langdon, Kent.
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Seven sons, four daughters.

ways, not easily assessed, but not for that the less valid, the effect of the Huguenot migration will not cease to make itself felt in the character and history of the English race for as long as it shall endure. And that not wholly by direct inheritance, but also, and perhaps not less effectually, through the subtle, reflex influence of that ampler knowledge and finer appreciation of our French progenitors which the Huguenot Society has done and is doing so much to encourage and promote.

MARRIAGE CERTIFICATE OF SAMUEL DE LAFARGUE AND  
LIDIE GRENOUILLEAU.

Ce mesme Jour douziesme Novembre mil six cent quatre-vingt quatre a esté beni le mariage d'entre S<sup>r</sup> Samuel *de la fargue* fils de M<sup>e</sup> Samuel, Conseiller et Médécin du Roy, et d'Elizabeth Trapaud, demoiselle, ses père et mère, habitanz de la ville de Castillon, d'une part ; et lydie *Grenouilleau*, demoiselle, fille de feu M<sup>e</sup> Jean Grenouilleau, ad -ez-parlement, et d'Elizabeth Brun, demoiselle, ses père et mère, hab. du faux bourg du dit Castillon, d'autre ; et le dit espoux dit estre agé de vingt quatre ans, et ladite espouse de vingt ans : à la celebration duquel mariage ont assisté Sieur Jean la fargue, docteur en médecine, frere de l'espoux, et Elie Marcon, beau-frere, Isaac Grenouilleau, frere de ladite espouse et Sieur Elie Royer, amy de l'espouse, Jacques Dailly, cousin second, qui ont tous signé.

J. B. LAFARGUE	SAMUEL LAFARGUE, espoux
I. GRENOUILLEAU	LIDIE GRENOUILLEAU, epouse.
MARCON. DAILLY	E. ROYERE, ministre.
	DEMILLON,
	ancien et
	scribe.

WILL OF LIDIE GRENOUILLEAU DE LAFARGUE.

AU NOM DE DIEU, AMEN. Je soussignée Lidie Grenouilleau veuve de Samuel Lafargue autrefois de Westminster à present de la paroisse de Hammersmith dans le comté de Middlesex aprez avoir demandé pardon à Dieu de tous mes pechez en considération du merite du sang precieux

de Jesus Christ mon sauveur et redempteur voulant disposer des biens dont il luy a plû me benir en ordonne de la maniere suivante

Premierement Je donne et legue à Mademoiselle Marie Lagarde de Malrommé pendant sa vie durante dix livres sterlings de rente payable par mon Executeur et apres la mort Je veux que les dites dix livres sterlings de rente reviennent à mon Executeur et à ses enfants.

Item Je donne et legue aux pauvres François de l'Eglise Française de Hammersmith quinze livres sterlings payables soudain apres ma mort

Item Je donne et legue à Monsieur Stelin ministre de la dite Eglise cinq livres sterlings

Item Je donne et legue à Lidie Battut ma filleule dix livres sterlings

Item Je donne et legue à Mademoiselle Lanouaille quatre livres sterlings

Item Je donne et legue à Mademoiselle Villote trois livres sterlings

Item Je donne à Mademoiselle Lagarde de Malrommé deux paires de draps deux douzaines de serviettes et deux nappes et telle partie de mes habits que ma bellefille Marianne de Lafargue ne voudra pas accepter

Item Je donne et legue à la servante qui me servira au temps de mon decés mes robes de chambre quelque peu de linge et une année de ses gages

Apres toutes mes debtes payées et mes legats cy dessus marquez Je donne à mon fils Elie Lafargue tous mes biens de quelque nature qu'ils soient ou en quelque lieu qu'ils puissent être pour en jouir pendant la vie durante et apres la mort Je donne les dits biens à l'enfant ou aux enfants du dit Elie Lafargue pour leur estre partagés par egales portions les substituant les uns aux autres et donnant pouvoir à mon Executeur de lever sur les dits biens et d'employer telle somme ou sommes qu'il jugera convenable pour l'avancement de ses enfants et au cas que le dit Elie Lafargue vienne à mourir sans enfants alors et dans ce cas Je veux que le restant de mes dits biens qui ne sera pas employé comme cy dessus soient disposés de la maniere suivante scavoir à Daniel Layard fils du Major Layard de Cantorbury deux ordres de longues annuitez de dix livres sterlings de rente chacune et du restant de mes dits biens une moytié à l'Hopital de la Providence et l'autre moytié à la Soupe des pauvres François dans le quartier de Soho et nomme et constitue mon fils le

susdit Elie Lafargue executeur de ce mien Testament à qui Je donne plein pouvoir de disposer et de changer la nature de tous mes dits biens selon qu'il jugera à propos pour le bien et l'avantage de ses enfants et de sa famille En temoignage de quoy Je me suis signée et apposé mon cachet dans ma maison a Hammersmith ce dixième jour de May mille sept cent trente et deux

LIDIE GRENOUILLEAU DE LAFARGUE.

Signé scellé et delivré  
en presence de

JEAN LAGARDE

JEAN LABOURDETTE

1<sup>o</sup> Junii 1732

ELIAS LAFARGUE filius et Extor

#### WILL OF THE REVEREND ELIAS LAFARGUE.

IN THE NAME OF GOD AMEN I ELIAS LAFARGUE Rector of Greatford in the County of Lincoln do make and declare my last Will and Testament in the manner and form following I give and devise to my son Peter Five hundred pounds Old South Sea Annuities which I held in trust for Mr. Peter Du Desert Dieu and which belongs to him already by my Marriage Settlement and also all my Books Item I give and devise to my son Peter the Farm in West Walton in the County of Norfolk which likewise I held in trust and already belongs to him by my Marriage Settlement Item I give and devise unto my dear and loving Wife All my Plate and Linnen and all my Household Furniture of what kind soever Chariot Chaise and Horses Item I give and devise one Moiety or half part of all my Real Estate together with one Moiety or half part of the Interest Issues and profits of all my personal estate unto my dear and loving Wife for and during the term of her natural life All which I intend shall be in full of her dower or thirds at common Law and in Lieu of any claim or demand which she might make under my Marriage Settlement during my son's life and after her decease unto my son Peter his heirs and executors Subject to the Contingencys hereafter mentioned I give and devise the other moiety or half part of all my Real Estate together with the other moiety or half part of all my personal estate unto my said son Peter and his heirs and Executors and my mind and will is that such parts of the Rents Interest Issues and Profits thereof as shall not be



expended in my said son's education and maintenance shall be improved by Interest or otherwise at the direction of my Executors hereafter mentioned for the use and benefit of my said son until he attain his age of one and twenty years and in case my said son shall die unmarried without issue or before he attains his age of one and twenty years and his mother shall be then living then in such a case (after that my said loving Wife is paid what she is intitled unto under my Marriage Settlement) I give and devise the rest and remainder of my Real and Personal Estate unto my said dear and loving Wife for her life only and after her decease and the death of my said son unmarried and without issue or before he attains his age of one and twenty years as aforesaid I give and devise the said Real and Personal Estates remaining after the aforesaid payment made as aforesaid unto my nearest Relations and their heirs to be equally divided amongst them But my mind and Will further is that in case my said son should survive his mother and yet should happen to die unmarried without issue or before he attains his age of one and twenty years then in that case I give devise and bequeath one moiety or half part of my said Real and Personal Estates unto my said nearest Relations their heirs and Representatives to be equally divided amongst them And I give devise and bequeath the other moiety or half part of my said Real and Personal Estate to be divided into three equal parts or shares amongst my Wife's Relations one third part I give to Mr. Peter Luard Merchant in London another third part to Mr. Charles Delaffontine also Merchant in London and the other third part to Mrs. Heloma Descharmes Wife of the late Mr. Simon Descharmes of Suffolk Street in London and to their heirs to be equally divided amongst them And I do nominate constitute and appoint Mr. Peter Luard the said Mr. Charles Delaffontine jointly with my said dear and loving Wife Guardians and Trustees for my said son Peter during his minority and EXECUTORS of this my last Will and Testament and in acknowledgment of their trouble therein I give and bequeath twenty pounds to each of them and my mind is that my Executors should only be accountable for their own several acts and deeds receipts and payments and not for each other IN WITNESS whereof I have hereunto set my hand and seal this first day of August One thousand seven hundred and fifty three—E. LAFARGUE—Signed Sealed published and declared by the said Elias Lafargue as and for his last Will and Testament in the presence of us who subscribed

**our names as Witnesses hereunto in his presence Ch. Balguy  
—George Baker—Wm. Roberts.**

On 23rd October 1753 this Will of the Reverend Elias Lafargue was proved in the Prerogative Court of Canterbury by Marianne Lafargue, Widow, the Relict, Peter Abraham Luard by the name of Peter Luard, and Charles de La fontaine, the Executors.

## *The Huguenot Settlements and Churches in the West of England.*

By CHARLES E. LART.

THE population of the West of England, and Devon in particular, is probably more mixed than in any other part of the country. To this day the ancient division of the city of Exeter into Celtic and English is preserved in the dedication of the churches; those in the northern part, or Northernhay, being dedicated to English and Roman saints, those in Southernhay having Celtic saints for their patrons.

The earliest immigrants since the Conquest were the Flemings, who introduced the manufacture of cloth. This trade seems to have originated with these Flemish settlers, imported by Edward I., who granted liberal charters to them. Exeter and Chudleigh are known seats of the cloth manufacture in this reign, and no doubt there were others, but until the reign of Edward III. there was no marked increase, owing, no doubt, to the export of the raw material—Dartmoor wool. Edward III. by stopping this export gave a great impetus to woollens, while at the same time encouraging foreigners to settle in the country. Taunton and Bristol were the resorts of Flemings, the most noted of whom was one John Kempe, a clothier of Flanders.

Under a system of protection such as this the weavers could hardly work fast enough to supply the merchants, who exported cloth to the very countries from which they had formerly imported it. Devon, in particular, was noted for a coarse cloth called "straits," which went to Brittany in exchange for dowlas, lockram and canvas, the latter being one of the special trades which Venier, 300 years later, complained had been completely transferred to England.

But although the manufactures of cloth and woollen goods had increased so greatly, the foreigner still held the palm for fine goods. Under the Marian persecutions trade languished,

but in the reign of Elizabeth another great influx of the strangers took place, driven here by the Alvan persecution. In addition to whole trades being transferred to this country, the strangers brought the best workmanship and the secrets of their trade with them, and gave England the pre-eminence which she has till now never lost.

From this earlier Walloon or Fleming settlement in Devon, in the reign of Elizabeth, the lace industry dates. Townsend specially mentions it at Honiton in 1634, and the registers of the parish church at that time, and earlier, contain many names of Flemish origin, Burd, Geneste, Raymunde, Brock, Gerarde, Murch, Stocker, Trump, Groot.

No recorded settlement of Huguenots proper exists prior to the Revocation, though isolated instances occur where families migrated earlier—the first swallows which preceded the flight of all sorts and conditions of men who flocked over later. Such was the family of D'Urfe, or d'Urfié, which came to Exeter in 1628, fleeing from Rochelle when the city was besieged by Louis XIII., and which is noted for producing Tom d'Urfe the comedian.

There is, however, a mention of the Huguenots in connection with Plymouth in the year 1569, though not of any settlement there. A squadron of Huguenot cruisers under the commission of the Prince of Condé had their headquarters there, and scoured the channel in pursuit of French and Spanish ships, not sparing those of the Netherlands. In 1569 one of them, under M. de Bordela, plundered two Flemish vessels in sight of the town. All spoil was brought into Plymouth and divided. On occasion they seem to have joined with the English, for William Hawkins, brother of Sir John Hawkins, had one of them in his command.

#### THE PLYMOUTH SETTLEMENT.

The next we hear of the Huguenots, as opposed to Walloons or Flemings, is a century later, when a News Sheet of the 6th of September, 1681, contains this notice: "An open boat arrived here yesterday, in which were forty or fifty French protestants who reside outside Rochelle. Four others left with them, one of which is said to have put into Dartmouth, but it is not yet known what became of the other three."

More followed, and by 1692 there was a congregation at Stonehouse, at which date their registers begin.

The Church at Plymouth was formed at the same time, but the earlier register-books are missing, and the first date in the Plymouth registers is in 1733.

The service was held in a building in How's Lane, from which the congregation removed in or about 1785, when the chapel was pulled down; and from 1798 to 1807, when the congregation was dispersed, all the entries are dated at Stonehouse. The last minister was Mr. Touzeau.

It is clear from the following letter, written in 1762 by Mr. Pentecost Barker to the Rev Samuel Merivale of Tavistock, that there were *three* congregations at Plymouth and Stonehouse: one has left no trace whatever:—

"The French parson seems to be decaying. Should he die, as he must sometime or other, I take it *that* church will become void, as most of the *now* French were born here or at Stonehouse. Those of whom I remember many scores, who came from France in 1685, etc., are mostly dead, and their offspring are more English than French, and will go to the English church, though some few may come to *us*. What a change Time makes! There was (when I was such another as Mr. John . . .) a French Calvinist church and a Church of England French church here, besides a church at Stonehouse. Many women in wooden shoes, very poor, but very industrious, living on limpets, snails, garlick and mushrooms. I'll make you laugh. A gentleman employing a gardener to pick snails from the walls, coming into the garden behind his back, heard him, in killing the snails, say: 'D—— take the French: when they came here first they would not suffer a snail to live: but now they are grown so proud that we are overrun with them'.

"When I went to Rochelle in the year 1713 I brought over several pairs of *sabots de bois* (so they call them) for some at Stonehouse. But they are all dead and gone."

The French minister referred to was Mr. Jacques Bordier, who began his pastorate in 1737, in succession to Mr. Pierre du Bouchet, who was minister in 1733, when the first entry in the first existing register of the Plymouth Church is made. It is possible that he was pastor before that, as Mr. Jacques Devoit held the office from 1685 till his death in 1723, thus leaving a gap of ten years.

The first entry in 1733 is a notice of election of wardens: Ap. 11, Pierre Hory (Horry) the elder, J. Vallean, Jean Parc, M. Thomas and Etienne Cagna; twenty-four heads of families assenting. Signed by P. Bouchet. There is an



entry the same year of the Royal Bounty: £15 15s. to fifty-one poor members, ranging from eighty-one years of age to an infant.

The first entry of baptism is "Marie, D. of Jacques and Marie Mounier. *Parrain*, Richard Bunce". The first marriage is that of Edward Davies and Anne Rawle, in December, 1744. The first deaths, in 1744, of Daniel Paikin and Francis Mousnier; the former buried in St. Charles's Churchyard, the latter in St. Andrew's.

In 1720 a poor-rate assessment roll gives the following names: Messieurs Peter Perry, Francis Thomas, F. Jourdain, J. Borgeau, P. Bone, Jacques, Ruffiat, Charles le Mar, Is. Oust, Mignau, Valteau, Botut, Pratt, Lavigne, Sherren, Freno, Dammer, Chardevoine, Ruleau: Mesdames Cateau, Burfeans, Langaller and Monsieur Osorio's widow.

The Plymouth congregation appears to have been the smaller one of the two whose registers we have. The book is only thirty-five pages, although it contains all entries from 1733 to 1807. Those of Stonehouse are in four volumes, one about 6 inches by 7, the other smaller. M. Molenier signs all entries from 1692 to 1710.

Vol. I. Baptisms, Marriages and Deaths.

Vol. II. Marriages and Baptisms, 18th November, 1720, to 22nd February, 1740, M. De Maure signs entries. This volume contains some abjurations.

Vol. III. commences with Baptisms, 5th Janvier, 1743-4, signed by M. Fauriel. A few Burials at the end, 1743 to 1758. On the first page is the abjuration of Sieur Pierre De Lonay.

Vol. IV. begins with the entry 11th April, 1762, and all subsequent entries are signed by M. David Louis Monin till 1787, when M. Martin Guillaume Bataille signs to 2nd January, 1791.

M. Touzeau outlived all his congregation, though a few seem to have kept up the service as long as he survived. In his later years he kept a school in Lower Lane and taught French there. With his death in 1807 the last remnant dispersed. The evidences of Huguenot ancestry are strong in Plymouth and the neighbourhood. The family of Touzeau still exists, though it has changed its name to Tozer; Vial is now Vile; Condé, Cundy; Guillard, Jillard; Rous, Rouse; Arnaud, Arnold; Gille, Gill; Bonnet, Bonny; Lavigne, Lavin; Roche, Roach; Parc, Park; Manget, Maingy; Benoit, Benoy; while many others remain unchanged, as



Bordier, Blondett, Vincent, Duval, Delacombe, Paillin, Gruzelier, Lamoureux.

#### BARNSTAPLE SETTLEMENT.

As in the case of Plymouth and all the other settlements of the French refugees in Devon, the formation of the French Church at Barnstaple dates from the period of the Revocation of the Edict.

Barnstaple had long been engaged in the shipping trade with France, Spain, Portugal and the Mediterranean ports, as well as with Newfoundland and North America. Great quantities of wool were imported from Ireland, and it was in connection with the woollen trade that the refugees proved a benefit to the town, for they introduced and perfected different branches of manufacture and dyeing processes, for which the town became famous. A great source of prosperity, however, was the export of corn, which was begun by one of the first of the newcomers, Jacques Fontaine, who gives us a description of the landing of the refugees at Barnstaple, and of the first impressions of the practical man he must have been, and which led to the establishment of this important industry.

M. Fontaine, a Protestant minister, with his sister and several members of his family, accompanied by his fiancée, Mdle Eliz. de Boursaquotte, left Marennes, near Rochelle, in a small English vessel, at the end of November, 1685. After a stormy passage across the Bay of Biscay, which took eleven days, they landed at Appledore on the 1st of December. "After paying passage money," says M. Fontaine, "I had only twenty gold pistoles left. God had not conducted us to a haven there to perish with hunger. The good people of Barnstaple were full of compassion, they took us into their houses and treated us with the greatest kindness. Thus God raised up for us fathers and mothers in a strange land."

The 1st of December was a Sunday, and the refugees arrived in Barnstaple when the people were at service. In their miserable condition they took shelter in the Market House, whither the inhabitants flocked to see them. One old gentleman took two of them home with him, and recommended his fellow-townsmen to do the same, and so in a few minutes they were all cared for.

"I was taken," the memoir goes on to say, "to the house of a most kind and charitable gentleman, a Mr. Downe. He

was a bachelor of some forty years of age, and had a sister with him who was about thirty-three or thirty-four years old. They were kindness itself, and I was as completely domesticated with them as if I had been a brother."

This lady, however, does not seem to have looked on him in the same light, for the autobiography goes on to give a humorous account of the attempts made by Miss Downe, whose fortune had not induced any one to ask for her hand, to persuade M. Fontaine to marry her: at the same time proposing that her brother should marry Mdle de Boursaquotte. The description given of Miss Downe by M. Fontaine is not flattering. She was short, thin, sallow and marked with the small-pox.

The marriage of M. Fontaine with Mdle de Boursaquotte, which had been postponed from prudential motives, now was hurried on, and they were married at the Parish Church of St. Peter on the 8th of February, 1686. The register records the names as "James Fountain and Elizabeth Buzzacott," a name still common in the town.

Mr. Fraine, at whose house his wife had been living since their arrival, gave a wedding feast, to which all the refugees were invited, and our friend Mr. Downe invited the same party to his house on the following day.

"Mr. Downe," says M. Fontaine, "was a man of good sense and fine feelings, and I verily believe was relieved by the issue of the negotiations." Not so, one is obliged to relate, his sister, for, says the memoir, "it was otherwise with her, she was displeased and aggrieved, and made no secret that she was so". With that we must leave Miss Downe, with the private conviction that the unfortunate brother had a bad time of it.

The Fontaines lived for some time in some poverty, but they received help in various ways, all of which was done in the spirit of true charity, for "we never knew from whom any of these things came". Fontaine, however, had not been idle, for he tells us that on landing at Barnstaple the first thing they noticed was the extreme cheapness of provisions, and bread in particular. "We were supplied with very large biscuits such as in France would have cost 2d. each, and to my surprise I was told that here they only cost one halfpenny. It instantly occurred to me that any one who could buy grain here and ship it to France must realise a large profit, but, alas, I had no money. I knew that at Plymouth there were living some French Protestant refugees



who had brought considerable property over with them, and perhaps if I were to suggest this plan to them they might be willing to lend me some money to join them in an adventure. But I wished to be perfectly well informed on this matter before speaking to them, so hearing that a corn market would be held next day at Bideford I walked over there, and took a man understanding both French and English as interpreter. I found that the finest description of wheat could be bought for 2s. 6d. or 3s. at the outside, for such a sack as in France would cost two crowns. I then made inquiries about export duties on grain and ascertained that on the contrary a drawback was allowed on the exportation of grain when the price was low as it was at this time.

"After revolving the matter in my mind, during a sleepless night, I decided it would be right to let my host have the benefit of my knowledge, as a small return for his hospitality, for it was possible he might be disposed to send some corn to France."

The result of the negotiations was that Mr. Downe chartered a vessel of fifty tons burden, loaded her with corn and consigned her to a cousin of M. Fontaine at Saintonge.

The profit on this venture was considerable, and a return cargo was brought to Barnstaple of nine tuns and three hogsheads of Bordeaux wine, some chestnuts and salt. A second shipment was made, but a loss was incurred through the dishonesty of a merchant to whom it was consigned.

They now determined to make a third trial, and arranged for the return cargo to be in salt: "I lost by this more than I had gained and was saddled with debts besides."

The captain of the vessel appears to have been a Barnstaple man, and not troubled with any scruples. After the cargo had been got on board several Protestants applied for a passage. They were mostly abjurors, who had gained time by temporising and had turned their property into cash, and were now escaping. The sight of their money, which they had placed in his hands, was too great a temptation for him; and taking some of the sailors into his confidence, he ran the ship aground and escaped with all the treasure. Jacques Fontaine tells us that he went to Cadiz and bought a share in a Spanish privateer with his ill-gotten wealth, and that was the last heard of him by the narrator.

The trade in exporting corn, begun by Fontaine, grew to large proportions, and in 1728 the bulk of the exports were corn and woollen manufactures.

The family lived ten months at Barnstaple, and then went to Taunton and afterwards to Ireland, from whence they emigrated to America, where the memoirs quoted from were published.

The French congregation grew by additions to its numbers and the corporation placed the Chapel of St. Anne at their disposal. This chapel stands in the church enclosure and is now used as the grammar school. Disestablished by Henry VIII., it became the property of the corporation by purchase in 1549.

The first pastor was M. Fontaine, who only officiated a few months and was succeeded by M. Mansey. It then became the Huguenot Church, and service was continued in the French language till 1760. In 1706 M. Coutre was minister; in 1710 the Rev. Louis Villette, who in that year married Anne Morin; Jacques Bernardeaux was another; the last pastor being Dr. Duncan, at whose death in 1761 the congregation was dissolved.

Mr. Thomas Wainwright, late head master of the grammar school, has very kindly sent me a copy of a monument to the memory of Dr. Duncan, which was erected within the communion rails in the Parish Church in 1769, and which no longer exists.<sup>1</sup> Mr. Wainwright tells me also that the late Dr. Fraser, Bishop of Manchester, called with his wife, who was a granddaughter of Dr. Duncan, to ask him about the inscription, which ran as follows:—

Reconditur  
In coemeterii (sic) ad orientem plagam  
quicquid mortale deposuit  
vir reverendus D. Duncan, M.D.  
Eccl: Angl: presbyter  
cui fides incorrupta vere pristina  
candor morum  
ab omni nequioris aevi vitio  
alienissimus  
charitasque in egenos  
perpetua, prompta, imitata  
in omnes benevola  
siquid harum virtutum memoria  
amoris tibi ac reverentia conciliat  
vale lector et imitare  
obiit prope octogenarius  
VIII Id Jun. MDCCLXI

<sup>1</sup> Arms on the memorial tablet of Dr. Duncan in Barnstaple Parish Church, now gone, were az. a pelican with wings displayed in her nest, vulned, or (?) on a chief, three mullets, or.



In Smiles' *Huguenots* it is wrongly stated that Dr. Duncan was the last pastor of *Bideford* French Church. Concerning this congregation I have no details to hand, but among the original refugees who settled there was a family of St. Michel, one of whom married Samuel Pepys. Pepys mentions this in his diary, and gives an account of the wanderings of M. St. Michel.

In the fifth report of the Hist. MSS. Commission, p. 372, is the following letter from the Portledge collection:—

"A letter from John Blake, Mayor of Barnstaple, to Richard Coffin, dated 14th Feb., 1686,

"Honoured sir,—According to your charitable intention, I have taken advise for distribution of the five pounds amongst the poore Protestants that fled hither from France, that by reason of the markt day being Frayday, and the Saterday being throng with business of the towne, I could only acquaint Mr. Boyse, the minister, and Mr. Barber, an honest merchant, that also is to give you a list of the persons, and of what is given to them."

Some of the refugees attained some distinction, Sir Henry Servante receiving knighthood for his services. His family survived in the town to a recent date.

One of the things which deserve to be noted is the great age to which so many of the Barnstaple Huguenots lived; one old lady, the last of the Servante family, recently died at the patriarchal age of 100. Another, Mounier Roche, the original founder of the Barnstaple Bank, lived to a great age. He had a saying, "If my grandfather had not been drowned at 111, he might have been alive now". Polwhele, in his *History of Devon*, among other instances of longevity, mentions a case at Barnstaple of a Mr. Darney, one of the French refugees, who lived to be 100.

Many of the French family names soon became Anglicised, L'Oiseau becoming Bird; Roche, Rock and Roach; but many still remain in the neighbourhood to testify to the Huguenot ancestry of so many of the present day Devonians: De La Roue, Du Barry, De la Tour, Le Pine, Chappell, Devey.

Although not strictly a Huguenot family, or even of Barnstaple, one is tempted not to leave the neighbourhood without mention of a refugee family, one of the earlier immigrants from Holland in the time of the Alvan persecutions, that of De Whichehalse, which settled at Lynton and survived until

the end of the seventeenth century, in spite of the legend which puts a dramatic end to it about the time of Monmouth's rebellion.

Jennifred, the only daughter of Sir Edward de Whichehalse, was betrayed and deserted by her lover, Lord Auberly, and in despair threw herself into the sea from Duty Point. De Whichehalse laid the matter before the King, James II., who declined to interfere. De Whichehalse in consequence threw in his lot with Monmouth, and the legend says that on the field of Sedgemoor he met his enemy, Auberly, and killed him in single combat.

Proscription followed and De Whichehalse fled to Holland in company with a few friends who were also compromised in the rebellion. On the way over a storm came on in which the vessel went down with all on board.<sup>1</sup>

#### THE EXETER SETTLEMENT.

There seem to have been two Churches in Exeter, one Conformist the other Nonconformist, as appears from the receipt for relief grant in 1698 for £5 5s. signed by M. Violet, the pastor of this Nonconformist congregation, and M. Aubin, of the church in Fore Street, to which the Dean and Chapter assigned the vacant Parish Church of St. Olave's. Like the Celtic St. Petroc's on the other side of the street, the Parish of St. Olave, or St. Olaf, was a very small one, consisting of a few houses (St. Petroc's is only one acre in extent), and for some reason or other the church fell into disuse about the middle of the seventeenth century, when it was shut up for thirty-five years. The entries at this period appear to have been made at St. Mary Arches. Being in this state it was granted to the refugees, who held their service in French till 1758, when it was discontinued, the congregation having lost its distinctive character. Lysons, in his *History of Devon*, says that the church again went to decay, till it was again restored in 1815. Polwhele, however, notes another restoration in 1776, when a number of octangular tickets, or *méreaux*, were found, the relics of the French occupation. These *méreaux* were very thin, red on both sides, on one of which

<sup>1</sup> Fact hardly fits in with the tradition of the family being of refugee origin, for a Nicholas Whitehalse is found at Chudleigh, early in the fifteenth century. His son Nicholas, of Chudleigh, died in 1552. One of the earliest settlements of the Flemish clothworkers took place at Chudleigh in the fifteenth, if not fourteenth, century, and hence it seems probable that the tradition grew up when the later immigration took place.



was stamped the words "Christ est le pain de vie," within a circular *bordure*. Polwhele wrote his history in 1797, a quarter of a century before Lysons. He says at that date, "the seats are in a ruinous state; no service performed here". His explanation of the *méreaux* is curious; he says, "they were probably concession tickets to be delivered to the priest by the communicants previous to the reception of the Eucharist, as a certificate that they had been prepared for it by their confessor": a statement which contains a true explanation, although in different terms from those in which the refugees would have expressed it.

The gravestone of M. Aubin is in the church, to the left of the south door, near the present west-end wall. The church probably extended further to the west, and with the churchyard covered the forecourt to the Nonconformist chapel to the west of it. The gravestones have evidently been removed from outside to pave the floor of the church. The inscription is in good repair and runs thus:—

"Here lies the body of Mr. Nicholas Aubin, who was minister of Gravan in Xaintonge in France, he preached thirteen years last March in this Church. Deceased ye 3 April, 1708, aged 59 years the 6 of January last."

There are probably other stones under the pews. On the north wall of the church is a tablet to the memory of Samuel Angier, Esq., of Heavitree and Mary his wife.

Through the kindness of the rector I was able to look at the registers, which, however, are blank during the French occupation; the last date being an entry in 1699-1700, and the first in the new series being in 1742, from which date the names show the admixture of French blood in the parish. On the inside of the register book which commences the new series is the note: "Colonel Alexander Durore and Colonel Partridge approved themselves". It seems to me probable that the French service was discontinued earlier than 1758, and that the congregation had become Anglicised by at least the date of this entry: the increase of trade and prosperity brought about by the improvements introduced by the Huguenots causing an increase in population and thereby filling up the parishes, many of which had, as we know, dwindled. In the case of a Conformist congregation like St. Olave's, the change would be imperceptible, and though the service might, as Lysons says, have been continued till 1758, it would most likely be a supplementary one, the younger generation by this time having become English.

I can find no trace of the registers of the French congregation, the parish register books breaking off at about 1699, the last entry of any sort being in 1700. From this date they were probably deposited at St. Mary Arches, and brought back to the Parish Church of St. Olave when the Anglicised refugee congregation had increased and there was no reason for a separate administration. With the limited time at my disposal, I have not been able to find out who succeeded M. Aubin as pastor, but this will probably not be a matter of great difficulty. I hope to get some information from the Cathedral archives, which *may* contain a transcript of the French registers, though this is not likely: unfortunately they are in a very disordered state, and quite unclassified. The assessment books for Rates should give some information, and there may be private means of finding more about the Exeter settlement. This will be a matter of time, but I hope to collect material for a fuller account. Of the Nonconformist congregation I have not been able to find any trace; as it may have been absorbed by a neighbouring Nonconformist body, inquiries may yield something. Unlike Plymouth, the Exeter refugees were engaged in manufacture of woollens and cloth, already established there by the earlier immigration of the Flemish strangers. Among them were many families of gentle birth, who saved some of their goods from the wreck of their fortunes and came to Exeter to live. There is some field for family research in the county of Devon, which may be useful to that branch of the Society's work.

William of Orange after his landing at Torbay in 1688, would naturally find many sympathisers in Exeter. The Cathedral witnessed a striking sight when he and his staff attended service there on his arrival in the city. Dumont de Bostaquet has preserved an account of this in his memoirs, which Mr. Kershaw quotes in his book on the refugees in their English homes. He remarks on the elaborate ritual, and says: "all this was much opposed to the simplicity of our reformed religion".

Devon and the West owe much to the Huguenots, not only in the prosperity which was largely owing to the improvements in arts and manufactures which they introduced, but also in their services to Church and State. The memorials in the Cathedral show how largely they gave of their best to preserve the inheritance in which they were from henceforth to have a part. The latest memorial of all proves that they have not exhausted their bounden duty and service.

"Valour of England slowly whitening  
Far in a south land brought to bay,  
Locked in a death grip slowly tight'ning  
Waiting the end in silence grey.  
Drake from his long rest turned again,  
Victory lit thy steel with lightening  
Devon, O Devon, in wind and rain."

Siordet, De Guerin, Le Marchant, Guille, Lafone, and how many of the rank and file? These are pledges that the debt has not even yet been paid to the country which gave our forefathers a refuge in the time of trouble, and a part in the inheritance of the ages.

Among the names common in the city of Exeter at the present time are the following taken at random: Baron, Balhatchet (? Bailhache), Challice, Comins, D'Urban, Dustan, Gloyens, Lemprière, Mellon, Pook, Rudall, Sarell, Stamp, Vicary; most of which are to be found in St. Thomas' churchyard, in the suburb across the Exe, to the west of the city.



TWENTIETH ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING,

HELD AT

THE HOTEL WINDSOR, VICTORIA STREET,  
WESTMINSTER,

WEDNESDAY, 11TH MAY, 1904.

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A. G. BROWNING, Esq., F.S.A., President, in the Chair.

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THE Minutes of the Meeting held on 9th March were read and confirmed.

The following were elected Fellows of the Society :—

Captain Frederick Meredyth Mangin, R.A.M.C., Dover.

Miss L. Thoday, 28 York Place, Baker Street, W.

John Lewis Vincent, Esq., 7 Victoria Street, Westminster,  
S.W.

Mrs. Webb, Heimat, Cheltenham.

The Annual Report of the Council was read as follows :—

*Report of the Council to the Twentieth Annual General Meeting of the Huguenot Society of London.*

Since the last Annual Meeting the Society has lost eight Fellows by death and ten by withdrawal, while twenty-two new Fellows have been elected, making a net gain of four. Among the Honorary Fellows, M. Charles A. Rahlenbeck has passed away. He was one of the earliest Honorary Fellows, having been elected in 1885. He always took a lively interest in the Society, and was ever ready to do anything in his power to further its objects.

The year has been especially sadly marked by the death of

Meetings as he used to do in the earlier days. He followed its progress, however, with interest, and it was matter of constant regret to him that his absence from England prevented him from doing as much as he wished.

In Mr. Moens the Council have lost one of their most valued colleagues, and the Society one of its most devoted supporters. His services were so many and so valuable that, on the very first day of the Society's existence, he was, as it were, its first Council member. He said, almost the very last day of his life, that the Council feel it impossible to adequately express their indebtedness to him. To an unrivalled knowledge of the history of the Dutch, Walloon, and English Churches in England, and an intense interest in every thing connected with them, Mr. Moens added a tenacity of purpose, a perseverance in work, and a lively enthusiasm, rarely to be met with. Not only was he singularly eager and anxious to acquire information about his favourite subjects, but he was also invariably most generous in his assistance and attention at the disposal of others. Ever prompt to answer a query if he could, he was unwearied in his efforts to obtain the answer to it if he had not already in his possession. Mr. Moens was the first Paper ever read before the Society. He was the author of the first quarto publication issued by the Society, the *Register*, for which he wrote a very full and interesting account of the Walloon Church and settlement in that country. At his death he was engaged in collecting materials for a similar history of the Dutch Church in England.

the Council are happy in being able to place on this evening's ballot-paper the names of Lord Radnor and Mr. William Wyndham Portal. Lord Radnor is well known to many Fellows of the Society as Governor of the French Hospital, while Mr. Portal has already done yeoman's service to the Society in many ways for some years past.

The issue of publications during the year has been : the *Register of the French Church at Thorney*, and the first number of the seventh volume of *Proceedings*. There are now in the press the third volume of the *Threadneedle Street Registers* ; the third and concluding volume of the *Returns of Aliens in London*, a considerable portion of both of which is in type ; and the second number of the seventh volume of *Proceedings*. A complete Index to all three volumes of the *Returns of Aliens* is also in progress. The *Colchester Register* has been already mentioned.

During the past nineteen years the Society has issued fifteen quarto volumes in nineteen parts, and twenty-three numbers of *Proceedings*.

The Treasurer's Balance-sheet accompanying this Report shows a total income for the year 1903 of £608 11s. 3d., and an expenditure of £368 15s. 6d., leaving a balance on the 31st of December last of £239 15s. 9d. The Society also then stood possessed of a capital sum of £915 4s. 5d., invested in 2½ per cent. Consols. This has since been increased to £927 9s. 8d. The Council desire to express their thanks to the Treasurer and Auditors for their usual careful attention to the accounts. They also wish to acknowledge the Society's indebtedness to their Honorary Brokers, Messrs. Nasmith and Shephard, who have very kindly continued to make the occasional investments free of charge.



**The Influence Exerted by Huguenot Refugees of the  
Seventeenth and Early Eighteenth Centuries upon  
the Social and Professional Life of England.**

By ARTHUR GIRAUD BROWNING, F.S.A., President.

INSTEAD of invariably reviewing the past year's work of the several Huguenot Societies of the world, including our own, and of recalling the titles of books which during that period have more or less enriched Huguenot literature, I think that your President may occasionally and with advantage be permitted to take as the theme of his Annual Address some one of the many subjects which have an interest common to all Huguenot descendants. It is too much to expect that he can exhaust any one of such subjects, but he may at least suggest the lines upon which further investigation may be advantageously pursued by enthusiastic Fellows of our Society.

I take it for granted that those of us who are Fellows of Foreign Societies devoted to the study and elucidation of French Protestant history will have read the various publications they have received, and that those who are not will in any case know where to turn for information on any point coming within their sphere of especial interest. Similarly, I may fairly assume that the chief books of the year relating either to the Huguenots in France or to their refugee settlements in other lands are known to all our Fellows who take a real interest in the subject.

It is perhaps right for me to say here that the Library of the French Hospital at Victoria Park contains many of the older standard works bearing upon Huguenot history, whether written in English or in other European languages; that it is besides kept up to date by the acquisition of important modern works on the subject and of the transactions and publications of the various existing Huguenot Societies. Very shortly also this Library will be strengthened by the legacy of your

late President, Mr. Moens, who generously bequeathed to it all works in his valuable collection that bear upon French Protestant and Refugee history. A catalogue of the whole collection is now being prepared by the executors, from which the books to be sent to Victoria Park will probably be selected by Mr. Faber and myself.

You already know that by arrangement with the directors of the French Hospital every Fellow of our Society has free access to this Library.

I therefore propose this evening to turn aside from the beaten course and to take for my theme "The Influence Exerted by Huguenot Refugees of the Seventeenth and Early Eighteenth Centuries upon the Social and Professional Life of England".

That the influence was deep and far-reaching may be taken as a truism, that it was almost invariably for good has I think been universally admitted. But although I find this influence constantly referred to in general terms I have not met with any writer who has set himself seriously to show the full extent of its actual exercise and working.

It will I think help us to understand the deep impress made upon the current thought and habits of this country by the French Protestant Refugees if we first obtain a clear insight into their life and conversation under persistent persecution in their own land, and then realise the condition of English society at the time of their coming over.

In regard to the first point, if it can be shown that the Huguenots generally were even by their enemies accounted loyal and true, brave, resourceful and ingenious; that their pastors had proved themselves men of exemplary piety, their soldiers and advocates courageous and learned, their men of science profound in knowledge, their artists bold in thought and skilful in execution, their merchants absolutely trustworthy, and their manufacturers highly ingenious and capable, then I think that the influence exerted by such a body of men, and by the no less noble and accomplished women who accompanied them, upon any people among whom they settled will be readily appreciated.

And in regard to the second point, if it can be further shown that at the period of the great immigration from France which followed upon the recall of the Edict of Nantes the people of England were in a peculiarly impressionable mood for receiving and assimilating the unconscious teaching afforded by the past history and by the living example of the

Huguenots who settled in their midst all surprise at the result will cease.

I will endeavour shortly to establish these two points.

To the loyalty of the French Protestants I suppose no more authentic testimony can be found than that of Louis XIV. himself and his Ministers during the earlier years of his reign. In 1651 the Protestant town of Montauban contributed some 1,200 soldiers to the King's army, then engaged in the Province of Guienne. On the suppression of the revolt her Deputies were sent to the King with renewed offers of service. They were received by the Count Harcourt with the gratifying statement, "The Crown was tottering on the King's head, but you have saved it". In 1652 Louis XIV., on the attainment of his majority, confirmed the Edict of Nantes, and though he spoke of the Protestants as "our subjects of the Pretended Reformed Religion," he added, "They have afforded us sure proofs of their affection and faithfulness, notably under the present circumstances, wherewith we are much pleased". A few years later Cardinal Mazarin said of the Protestants: "I have no complaint to make of the little flock, for if it feeds on bad pasture, at least it does not go astray".

As to the piety of the Huguenot pastors surely it is only necessary to recall the devoted lives and work in France before their banishment of such men as Allix, Claude, Saurin, the brothers Menard, Pineton de Chambrun and many others to be convinced on this point.

The courage of Huguenot soldiers had in France often shone brightest in defeat. Later under the English flag and fighting in the cause of religious freedom it carried many to victory.

The national museums and public buildings of France abound with evidence of the genius of Huguenot artists. The works of Palissy, Goujon, Goudimel, Petitot, cover a very wide range of art, and all are to-day famous the wide world over.

Regarding the merchants and manufacturers Camille Rabaut, in his *Biography of Lord Ligonier*, says: "Dans cette nouvelle période (1630 à 1660 environ) les réformés goûtent une paix relative et en profitent pour exploiter avec ardeur toutes les branches du travail humain; ils y excellent au point que les Intendants, peu prévenus pourtant en leur faveur, reconnaissent que, dans les affaires, les réformés sont de tous les négociants ceux qui inspirent le plus de confiance :



beau témoignage à la loyale intégrité du caractère huguenot". And writing of these very men who afterwards fled from France Jurieu says: "The Protestants have carried commerce with them into exile"; to which Poole in his *Huguenots of the Dispersion* adds: "also the credit on which it subsisted".

And now as to my second point; there can I think be no question that in its relation to the currents of religious life and of higher thought in this country the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes was exactly timed by Divine Providence. Only a year or two earlier the growing distrust in the Protestantism of Charles II. would have deflected the stream of emigration from France almost entirely from England to Holland, Switzerland and the Protestant States of Germany. Only a year or two later the zeal of James II. for Catholicism and his hearty sympathy with the policy of persecution which Louis XIV. pursued towards his Protestant subjects had become a matter of common knowledge in France as well as in England and would have had the same effect. But early in 1685 Charles II. died, and at the Privy Council held immediately after his death the new King was so profuse in his expressions of regard for the Protestant religion and for the English laws which allowed its free exercise that all suspicion was for a time disarmed. His words spoken in the Council Chamber at Whitehall were proclaimed from the housetops throughout the Protestant towns of France, and as the persecutions of Louis XIV. increased in severity the thoughts of the Huguenots turned more and more towards England as being both the nearest shelter from the storm and the country where they would find the fullest and freest liberty in the exercise of their religion. So a kind of peaceful invasion of England by many thousands of French Protestants was accomplished before the true character of James II. was revealed, and the Protestant English people welcomed and befriended the invaders while the English King who had made such fair promises secretly hated them and was only deterred from actively persecuting them by fear of rebellion among his own subjects.

The end of the seventeenth and the early part of the eighteenth century is a period of special interest, for while great numbers of the Refugees who had arrived after the Revocation, shattered in mind and body by the cruel sufferings they had endured, had passed to their rest, the larger part had fallen into the various positions for which their

previous education and experience or their special abilities fitted them. There had been time too for the law of the survival of the fittest to assert itself and for the master minds to make their influence felt.

I cannot of course do more than gather in from a variety of sources recorded facts and opinions which bear upon the points I wish to establish, and collate for the help of the Fellows of our Society information which is so widely distributed as to be only with difficulty obtainable by the general reader.

#### THE CHURCH.

In showing the influence of the Huguenot Refugees and especially of the Refugee pastors upon the English Church I am greatly indebted to the help of one of our own Fellows, Mr. Kershaw, whose knowledge of English Church history keeps pace with his unrivalled opportunities of study in the great Library at Lambeth, of which he has been for many years the custodian.

With a thoroughness which is characteristic of all his work Mr. Kershaw would go back to the international controversies of the sixteenth century in order to trace the influence of the foreign Reformers upon our Church from the time of Archbishop Cranmer onwards, but those early steps of the inquiry, though of absorbing interest, would occupy more time than is now at my disposal. I am not without hope that Mr. Kershaw will himself some day contribute to the *Proceedings* of the Society a paper on this subject.

In order, however, to understand the influence of Huguenot Refugees upon the English Church it is quite necessary to go back as far as the reign of Charles II. for a starting-point.

The whole period covered by the reigns of Charles II. and James II. was one of violent religious excitement and struggle throughout Europe. In France the Protestants, being in a comparatively small minority, suffered cruel persecution by their King at the instigation of the dominant Roman Catholic Church. The French people also still accepted their King as an absolute monarch, ruling by Divine right. Here in England the position was happily reversed. Not only were the Protestants in a numerical majority, they were the very backbone of the nation, they were in fact "The People" who had lately acquired by right of conquest a very real share in the government of the country, and they were actively using the power and influence they had gained. Therefore,



as our last two Stuart Kings admired the policy and methods of the Most Christian King of France towards his Protestant subjects they were powerless to indulge in any such acts of wholesale persecution as those which Louis XIV. directed against the Huguenots.

It is true that they both made many tentative experiments in persecution on individuals and on small bodies of men, but they were restrained from further mischief by wills and forces more powerful than their own.

Charles was drifting rapidly down the stream of misgovernment, making or sanctioning unjust and partial laws, when his career was suddenly stopped by death. With a zeal for Romanism at once more ardent and less discreet James quickly forgot or ignored the promise he made to his first Council to support and defend the Church of England, and attempted to outvie his brother's efforts to force the Roman Catholic religion on his subjects, with the result that he lost his kingdom and ended his days in exile.

In the reign of Charles II. two events happened which together prepared the way for the growing exercise of Huguenot influence as the tide of immigration increased in volume: the translation of the English Liturgy into French by Jean Durel in 1661, and the appointment of the Bishop of London as Superintendent of the Foreign Protestant Churches in his diocese.

For years before the Restoration eager and often painful controversy had been waged, supporting on the one hand the demand of the English Church that foreign Protestants should conform to her ritual and discipline as the price of her protection, and on the other the appeal of the "strangers" for protection, coupled with complete freedom in the form of their worship and of their Church government. Momentary advantages in this controversy rested sometimes with one side and sometimes with the other—in the very nature of things the permanent effect could only be detrimental to both.

Under the government of Archbishop Laud the attitude of the English Church towards the strangers had been arrogant and unsympathetic to the last degree; so much so that rather than choose between submission to Laud's arbitrary rule and the stifling of their conscience many of the Refugees and their pastors took fresh flight and found in other countries, chiefly in America, the recognition and encouragement that were denied them here. Under Laud's immediate



successors milder counsels prevailed, and while many inducements were offered to the Huguenot pastors to enter the Anglican fold they were left free to make their own choice, and, if they so determined, to preach their own doctrines in their own churches.

The personal character of Durel, his training, his scholarship and his position in the Church of England gave to his translations of our Liturgy into both French and Latin an importance that they would not otherwise have possessed. Durel, though not a Refugee, for he was born in Jersey, had yet studied at the French Protestant University of Saumur and had entered the ministry as a pastor of the French Protestant Church in Jersey. He was with Charles II. during part at least of his exile, and returning with him at the Restoration he was admitted into the English Church and appointed Minister of the Savoy, which at that time had perhaps the most fashionable congregations in London. Durel was, therefore, equally in touch with the French Protestant Refugees and with the foremost men in the English Church and State. His French translation of the Liturgy was approved by Dr. Sheldon, then Bishop of London, and used for the first time on 14th July, 1661, in the Savoy Chapel at a dedicatory service, which was attended by the Dukes of Newcastle and Devonshire, the Earl of Stafford, the Countess of Derby (Charlotte de la Tremouille) and her daughters, the Countesses of Ossory and of Athol, and many other members of the English aristocracy. Durel's generous and broad-minded attitude towards the great controversy of the day may be gathered from the text upon which he preached at this service: "If any man seem to be contentious we have no such custom, neither the Churches of God" (1 Cor. xi. 16). Besides authorising the use of the new translation by all French Protestant churches in England and the Channel Isles the King conferred on Durel the exclusive right of its publication. This must have been a very valuable privilege, for at least four editions were published during Durel's life-time and many others after. Durel was also appointed successively a Chaplain in Ordinary to His Majesty, Prebend of Salisbury, of Windsor and of Durham, and lastly, in 1677, Dean of Windsor. And all these marks of Royal and ecclesiastical favour were amply repaid by Durel in his faithful service to the Church of England and his powerful advocacy of her doctrines and form of government. And it was chiefly through his influence

that so many Huguenot pastors were persuaded to enter the English Church, upon which, having entered, they afterwards made so deep an impression.

The placing of the foreign Protestant Churches in England under the jurisdiction or superintendence of the Bishop of London necessarily brought the Huguenot pastors who were now arriving in ever-increasing numbers into close relation with the English clergy. Serious and frequent efforts were also made on both sides to promote union among Protestants. Bishop Compton invited the views of some of the most prominent Huguenot ministers on this subject, and the foundation was laid for a better understanding abroad of the tenets of the English Church and for a more sympathetic reception of the writings and preaching of the foreign divines in England. But this action was so displeasing to the new King that the Bishop was henceforward excluded from the Royal councils. The Bishop's check followed a year or two later when Compton was one of the seven representative men who invited William of Orange to exclude King James from the government of this country.

Still Sancroft, Archbishop of Canterbury; Ken, Bishop of Bath and Wells, and others warmly espoused the cause of the Huguenots. Sancroft showed his sympathy in many ways. For example, when the Marquis de Venours from Poitou settled at Boughton Malherbe, in the diocese of Canterbury, the Archbishop desired the inhabitants to receive the Marquis and his party "with Christian charity," and he appointed Monsieur Rondeau to preach in the parish church to those who did not understand English. The good Bishop Ken, who had travelled in France shortly before 1685 and had seen with his own eyes the awful treatment of the Protestants by their King, showed the greatest sympathy with those who sought refuge on our shores. When in 1686 a collection was ordered to be made in all our churches for the relief of the poor French Protestant Refugees, Bishop Ken exhorted his hearers "to constancy in the Protestant religion and detestation of the unheard of cruelties of the French," and after stirring them up to a liberal contribution, he himself set a noble example by devoting a whole year's income to the relief of the poor fugitives.

The opening of Boughton Parish Church to a Huguenot pastor and congregation was by no means a single instance of the exercise of Christian brotherhood in that direction. In London, Sandwich and other towns parish churches were

frequently lent to the French Protestants. The historic example of the French congregation worshipping in the crypt of Canterbury Cathedral was even then more than a century old. It happily continues to this day, though the importance of the French and Walloon element in England's first Christian city has greatly diminished owing to the gradual absorption of the Refugee families into the English population. Often threatened, this memorial of the welcome once offered to the "children of the stranger" has never been withdrawn. Huguenot descendants will gratefully remember the sympathetic and statesmanlike action of Archbishop Tait in 1876 when, both in the House of Lords and in his diocesan charge, he defended this church against an attempt to close it on account of its small congregation. In his charge the Archbishop said: "I do not forget that in this cathedral there still remains a memorial of those days when the Church of England . . . gave an asylum to our persecuted Protestant brethren who came from other lands . . . so that there is something to remind us of our connection with those who in distant lands maintain under great disadvantages the truths for which the Reformers were contented to die."

The influence of Huguenot preachers was often apparent in the sermons of the bishops and clergy of the Church of England as well as upon the general current of religious thought among both clergy and laity. Tillotson, Archbishop of Canterbury, 1691-4, was famous as a great preacher, and some of his sermons clearly reflected the thoughts and views of theologians from abroad. A selection of them was translated into French by Monsieur Beausobre, Minister of the French Church at Amsterdam (1728).

The end of the seventeenth and the beginning of the eighteenth century was essentially a pamphleteering age. The magnificent opportunities for the expression of opinion offered by the newspapers and the magazines of to-day did not then exist, nor did the great organisations of Trade Unions, Ancient Druids, Sons of Toil, and a hundred other societies whose chief occupation seems to be to collect in their thousands the democratic many-headed multitude and teach them to shout in chorus over every real or imaginary grievance that floats up to the surface in the discussions of the day. To our ancestors of two centuries ago the pamphlet was the only safety-valve through which their opinions could escape to the outside world, and controversy in pamphlet form was cultivated as a fine art. It must be literally true



to say that pamphlets by the hundred debated the burning question whether or not the Refugee pastors should recognise the doctrine and discipline of the Church of England and even accept preferment within her pale, for this was one of the first questions that had to be faced by the Refugee pastors, and it was to each a question of the first importance. Naturally it caused many divisions and much heart-burning among them. It also brought out certain pugnacious instincts which the hard and narrow creed of Calvinism (so at least it seems to me) tends rather to foster, to cultivate and to exercise than to repress. For examples of keen controversy, conducted with cold pitiless logic and with a directness of expression that wholly ignores the sensitive side of human nature, we must I think look to the writings of some of the Calvinistic divines of the early eighteenth century.

But not all the time of all the Huguenot pastors was spent in controversy. Their published sermons and essays, often showing an intimate knowledge of English divinity, appealed forcibly to vast numbers of English people. Monsieur le Cene, the pastor,<sup>1</sup> first at the Protestant church at Caen and then at Charenton, who was banished from France at the Revocation, spent his first years in this country in preparing his *Nouvelle Version Française de la Bible*, which was published in 1696. Des Maizeaux, another French pastor, wrote the life of Chillingworth, perhaps the most famous controversialist of the eighteenth century.

A little later an attempt was made to unite our own and the Gallican Church of France by a correspondence between Archbishop Wake and the Sorbonne and M. de Beauvoir, the Chaplain to the French Embassy in Paris, himself a returned Huguenot, but now under the protection of the British Embassy. This scheme, however, failed. Not so another scheme for founding a Protestant College at Lausanne for students and preachers. This was submitted by Antoine, Court, one of the preachers of the Cevennes, to Archbishop Wake, whose influence with George I. resulted successfully, and the College was founded in 1729.

Again, the French Hospital, the most splendid and lasting among the many memorials of the piety of our Huguenot ancestors, owes its existence chiefly to the devotion and influence of a Huguenot Refugee pastor, Philippe Menard. In the account of the origin and early history of the French

<sup>1</sup> Ten 450 volumes of M. le Cene's theological MSS. are in the Library of the French Hospital.

Hospital that I have read before this Society I have shown how a simple bequest of £1,000 to provide board and maintenance for twelve poor, infirm and sick French Protestants in the City of London was expanded by Ménard, then Minister of the Chapel Royal, St. James's, and those who worked with him, into the provision of a hospice or asylum for a great number of poor and aged Refugees, who were there furnished with every help and comfort for soul and body during the last stage of their sad pilgrimage; how also the permanence of the work was secured by the munificent contributions of the wealthier Refugees and by a Charter of Incorporation declaring it to be "a body Corporate and Politick in Deed and in Name for ever". Among the thirty-seven directors named in the Charter four are ministers, namely, Menard, Saurin, de St. Colome and Scoffier.

The French Protestant School of Westminster, in which many of you are interested, was also founded by Huguenot Refugees or their immediate descendants. Only last year the original "Projet" of the school was unearthed by Mr. Beeman when collecting material for his valuable paper on "The Sites and Buildings of the French Refugee Churches in London".

Both these institutions are standing monuments of the influence of the Huguenot Refugees on the Church of England, for both were founded and have ever continued within her communion.

It is, however, manifestly impossible for me at this time further to pursue this branch of my subject, but I may remind you that almost in our own day the Church of England has felt no more powerful influence, though possibly in an unexpected direction, than that exerted by two men of Huguenot descent, Pusey, who was a Bouverie, and Newman, whose mother was a Fourdrinier.

#### THE ARMY.

As in treating of the influence exerted by Huguenot Refugees upon our English Church I have been favoured by the invaluable help of Mr. Kershaw, so in endeavouring to trace the influence of the French Protestant Refugees upon the organisation, tactics and discipline of the English army I have been very greatly assisted by Dr. Miller Maguire, whose brilliant lecture upon Huguenot commanders, given to this Society some years ago, will still be fresh in the memory of many of its Fellows.

And this influence is much more readily seen in the army than in the Church or in any other profession, because the establishment of a regular standing army in this country and its rapid enlargement practically synchronised with the growing persecution of the Huguenots in France, and, consequently, with the banishment or flight from France in ever-increasing numbers of Protestant officers and soldiers.

Very many of these men, perhaps the greatest proportion, fled in the first instance to Holland and served against France during the Wars of the Grand Alliance, of which William III. was the leading spirit. At least two regiments composed entirely of Huguenots were raised in Holland, and whole companies of Huguenot troops were drafted into other regiments of the Dutch army, so that when William landed at Torbay in November, 1688, the little army he brought with him consisted chiefly of Huguenot soldiers trained under Schomberg, Turenne and Condé, and officered by their own countrymen and co-religionists. All these troops and their very numerous officers became incorporated into the new English army. Indeed, without them William could not have been successful either in Ireland or in Flanders, nor even with them but for the training of his British soldiers by French officers who instructed them both in large operations of war and also in minor details of tactics and drill. Gambon, the Chief of William's Engineers, and Goulon, the Chief of Artillery, were Huguenots, so were his three Aides-de-Camp, the Marquis d'Arzilliers, De l'Etang and De la Melonière; so until the Battle of the Boyne was his principal tactician, Schomberg. Thus the principal military direction of the British army when it started on its career of Empire-building was Huguenot, and the English were so quick to profit by their teachers that a Marlborough soon stepped forth from among the pupils of the illustrious Turenne and adopting recognised French tactics he led his army from victory to victory against the veteran troops of Louis XIV. The Huguenot soldiers, like the Scotch of the same period, were admirable fighting men, and, better still, their officers were organisers of victory.

Turenne was one of the first masters of the principle of "inner lines," by means of which principle he foiled all the plans of the celebrated Italian soldier Montecuculi, who commanded the Germans on the Rhine in 1674 and 1675. He combined prudence with daring; he selected his tactical positions with care; he knew how to take advantage of every local peculiarity of ground; he knew how to use detaining



forces and a central reserve; he employed "interior lines" so as to out-manceuvre his enemies and defeat them in detail, and he had the consummate trait of generals—that moral force which inspires confidence and enthusiasm.

Following Turenne the Marquis de Ruvigny (afterwards created Lord Galway) employed the same system of tactics with conspicuous success when commanding English troops in the Spanish Peninsula. It was also under Ruvigny's command that the combined English and Huguenot troops won the battle of Aughrim in 1691, and by his disposition of cavalry that the army of William III. was saved from utter defeat in its retirement from Nierwinden when beaten by Luxemburg in 1693.

Turning to guerilla warfare, the first systematic operations of this kind which perplexed regular armies were devised by the Protestants of the Cevennes. Under Jean Cavallier, their leader, the Camisards fought and overcame time after time the disciplined troops and trained militia of France led by some of the King's most famous generals, and when at last defeat followed upon the exhaustion of their numbers in the unequal fight, Cavallier obtained from the great Marshal Villars honourable terms of surrender. Soon, however, finding reason to suspect the good faith of Louis XIV., Cavallier fled to Switzerland and afterwards entered the British service. At the battle of Almanza he commanded a regiment 700 strong, composed entirely of French Protestant exiles, and it fell to him to engage a French Catholic regiment of about equal strength which had perhaps taken part in the pitiless wars of the Cevennes. As soon as the two corps recognised each other they charged with their bayonets, disdaining to fire, and slew each other with such fury that not more than 300 men survived. Cavallier says of himself: "I fought as long as a man stood beside me until numbers overpowered me, losing also an immense quantity of blood from a dozen wounds that I received. I was looked upon as one of the slain and as such I was plundered, but Providence gave me sufficient strength to drag myself off from the enemy's hands." Later, and after seeing much further military service, Cavallier was appointed Lieutenant-Governor of Jersey and promoted to the rank of Major-General in the British army.

Although I do not find recorded any definite instances of new methods of strategy or tactics introduced by Cavallier into the British army, he certainly made suggestions for the

conduct of the campaign in Spain, which were recommended by Queen Anne to the careful judgment of Lord Galway, the general in command of the British forces, and we cannot doubt that the personal character of the Camisard chief, and the unique experience he had gained during his heroic struggle in the Cevennes, must have exercised a very strong influence among those with whom he was associated.

To the French Protestants, though not I think to the Refugees, is due the invention of the bayonet joint, which holds the bayonet by an attachment fitting round the barrel, so enabling fire to be delivered with fixed bayonets.

It is strange that nearly all the modifications of the art of war from mediæval times until the French Revolution were introduced by Protestants. Men like Gustavus Adolphus, the Swede, a champion of Protestantism, whose pupils started the Parliamentary army in England and educated the Scotch Presbyterians in tactics ; like Turenne, whose methods were adopted by Marlborough, and whose plan of moving in a diagonal fashion against the enemy's flank instead of moving against his front, was the basis of the system of Frederick the Great himself, and the first Condé, who defended Metz against the Emperor Charles V.

I have now said enough to prove that the modern art of war owes more to the strategy, tactics, armament, organisation and practical lessons of the Huguenots than to any other class of men, and it was exceedingly fortunate for England that their services were available when at the close of the seventeenth and the beginning of the eighteenth centuries she began to change her insular position for one of Continental and Imperial importance. If my present object were to record the high character, the sublime devotion, the personal valour of Huguenot Refugees and their immediate descendants who fought under the English flag I would give you numberless instances from the army lists and other records of the time ; if I desired to show that these splendid qualities were continued in Huguenot families through many generations I would take you first through the roll of Governors and Directors of the French Hospital, pointing to the illustrious names of Ruvigny and Ligonier, both commanders-in-chief of our army, and to those of about twenty general and other officers who served their adopted country, all with devotion and many with distinction ; and if, still, proof were asked that the military spirit exists among Huguenot descendants at the present day I would, only by opening

the new list of Fellows of this Huguenot Society of London, disclose the names of some of the most distinguished officers in the service. But my theme is at once much narrower and much more difficult.

#### THE LAW.

Until quite the end of the eighteenth century it is a little more difficult to connect Huguenot Refugees or their immediate descendants with specific reforms in the laws of this country. Among those exiled or fugitive after the Revocation were many who having practised as advocates in France soon acquired a knowledge of English law and obtained considerable practice in London at the bar, in the courts, and as proctors and notaries. The wills of the Refugees appear to have been almost invariably drawn, attested or administered by Huguenots who had established themselves as solicitors or proctors in London. Of this the early records of the French Hospital afford abundant evidence. Solomon de la Penissière (who soon after his arrival became Mr. Solomon Penny) and Pierre Champion de Crespigny were notable instances, followed later by Duroure, Pechell, Bosanquet, Baron Mazeres, Sir John Sylvestre, Ouvry and many others. The confidence which these men inspired among their fellow-countrymen and the positions to which they attained in a foreign land speak volumes as to their high personal character and their legal knowledge and ability.

But practising barristers and solicitors, unless they are also members of Parliament, have little or no opportunity of modifying the laws of this country or even the forms of procedure in the application of those laws. Many practitioners deplore the defects, the inconsistencies, the abuses, the delays of the law, but to few indeed is given the power to remedy them. And so, at the risk of passing over some of our ancestors to whom the laws and lawyers of England may be deeply indebted, I will refer at once to the beneficent and lasting influence exerted by Sir Samuel Romilly, the grandson of a Montpellier Huguenot of good family and estate who fled to this country at the Revocation. The story of his life from year to year is unfolded in the memoirs written by himself, which, with selections from his correspondence, were edited by his sons and published soon after his untimely death in 1818. For a full account of his life and work I can but refer our Fellows to these fascinating volumes. It will be sufficient for my present purpose to begin by noting the

complete failure of one or two attempts to bind Romilly to commercial pursuits. For about two years after leaving school he conscientiously worked at keeping the business accounts of his father, who was a jeweller of repute in Frith Street, Soho. This occupation, he says, was so utterly distasteful to him that it became every day more unpleasant and its weariness was only redeemed by the ample leisure it afforded for reading and study.

It was a happy day for Romilly when acting on the advice of many friends and with the approval of his father he was articled to a solicitor, who was also one of the six clerks in Chancery. Already his reading had been remarkably wide and various. Ancient history, English poetry and works of criticism were his favourite subjects. The French language and literature were as familiar to him as English and he now applied himself to the study and translation of the best Latin authors with such diligence that in the few years of his pupillage he read, as he himself tells us, not once but again and again nearly every prose writer of the ages of pure latinity, and translated a great part of them into English prose or verse. He must have acquired some confidence in his work for, comparing Dryden's translation of Virgil with his own, he was momentarily persuaded by some blindly partial friends that he had left poor Dryden at a most humiliating distance, but his better judgment soon asserted itself.

After five years of steady work in the solicitor's office Romilly entered the Society of Gray's Inn and became the pupil of a Chancery draughtsman, under whose direction he applied himself diligently to the painful study of the law. Still he continued his reading of ancient and modern history and his translations of the classics. He now also began the writing of political essays, which were usually sent anonymously to the newspapers, and to his great gratification almost always inserted. The intense application with which Romilly pursued his studies at this time so seriously injured his health that a complete rest for a considerable time was prescribed as affording the only hope of his recovery.

To one of Romilly's ardent temperament, however, idleness was simply impossible. Family circumstances directed his steps first to Geneva and afterwards to Paris. At both these places he spent much time in observing the working of the public tribunals and in comparing the practice in the Swiss and French courts with that he had been so lately studying

in England. He also became acquainted with the principal advocates and politicians of the day, and in Paris he witnessed the first threatenings of the political storm that so quickly developed into the French Revolution.

Returning to England Romilly practised at the Chancery Bar, where more years of patient study and close application to work lay before him. Through all this time he was carefully noting instances of injustice and cruelty in the laws themselves or in the administration of them, and at the same time devising plans for their amelioration. Romilly was essentially—by natural temperament as well as on principle—"a man of mercy," and you will find that all the reforms in our laws which he either attempted or achieved lay in one direction—the tempering of justice with mercy.

Though anticipating events by a few years I cannot refrain from quoting here a remarkable passage from one of his speeches in Parliament when advocating the abolition of capital punishment for the comparatively light offences of shoplifting and pocket-picking, for it so clearly expresses the motives which actuated him in all his efforts for the reform of the criminal law.

"It is not from light motives that I have presumed to recommend an alteration in a matter so important as the Criminal Law of the land. I have always thought that it was the duty of every man to use the means which he possessed for the purpose of advancing the well-being of his fellow-creatures, and I am not aware of any way in which I can advance that well-being so effectually as by endeavouring to meliorate the law and thus to increase the security and happiness of my country. It is not a little that will discourage me."

At last his splendid abilities and attainments were recognised, his practice rapidly increased and he became the acknowledged leader of the English Bar. Riches and honours were now showered upon him. At the instance of the Prince of Wales a seat in Parliament was offered, even pressed upon him, but his fine sense of honour would not permit him to accept a favour which might possibly be thought to carry with it an implied claim upon his vote or to interfere with the free exercise of his judgment.

Only a few months later (in February, 1806), under a new Administration formed by Lord Grenville and Mr. Fox Mr. Romilly was appointed Solicitor-General, sworn of the Privy Council, knighted and brought into Parliament as

member for Queenborough. This, as he afterwards learned, was done at the express wish of the Prince of Wales, whose resentment at his recent refusal of patronage had already given place to admiration for the uprightness of his character.

With the commencement of Sir Samuel Romilly's public career came the opportunity for which his whole life had been a preparation—that of reforming some of the worst abuses in our English system of jurisprudence. Within a week of taking his seat in the House of Commons Sir Samuel Romilly attended the Privy Council to examine a lieutenant in the navy upon the death of three seamen who had been flogged without any court martial being held on them, and the punishment was inflicted with such horrible severity that they all three died in less than twenty-four hours after it was over. From that moment Romilly's efforts to mitigate the severity of punishments in both the navy and the army were ceaseless. On the following day Wilberforce sat beside him in the House and obtained his promise to speak in support of his Bill for the abolition of the slave trade, a promise which he fulfilled with brilliant success when the Bill was brought forward. Ten days later we find him pleading with the Chancellor of the Exchequer for the discontinuance of State lotteries on account of the pernicious consequences that flowed from them. His first speech in Parliament was to advocate an improvement in the law of evidence which would afford protection to witnesses. His second, on the following day, was in opposition to a proposal to prohibit the publication in newspapers of proceedings before justices of the peace; the proposed measure he contended would be a very dangerous restraint upon the liberty of the Press. During this his first session in Parliament Sir Samuel Romilly also advocated enlistments in the army for a limited time instead of for life, and the amendment of the bankruptcy laws.

When Parliament was prorogued Sir Samuel Romilly as Chancellor of Durham held his court in that cathedral city, noting certain defects in its practice which he resolved to remedy.

In the following session Romilly proposed reforms in such various directions as the Welsh judicature, the registration of title-deeds, the security for creditors in bankruptcy. He also again advocated the abolition of the slave trade, "speaking with great success and making a considerable impresson on



the House," as he was told by many of his friends. On the votes being taken 283 were found to be in favour of abolition and only 16 against it—a majority which exceeded the expectations of the most sanguine.

Again Parliament was dissolved, and the buying of a seat became necessary as the only way in which one resolved to be independent of parties could hope to enter Parliament. Romilly records the practice as detestable and resolves to denounce it as soon as he has the opportunity. In this new Parliament Romilly spoke earnestly in favour of a Bill for establishing schools in every parish in England for the education of the poor. His arguments might be with very great advantage considered by some educational controversialists of the present day. The Bill passed the Commons, but was rejected by the Lords. In this and succeeding sessions he supported Bills for the prevention of cruelty to animals, for the remedying of defects in the bankruptcy laws and in the law of evidence, and he opposed others increasing the stringency of the poor laws, creating new offences under the Felony Act, and legalising the purchase of seats in Parliament. But above all he now began to draw up that comprehensive scheme for the amendment of the criminal law which he lived to see to some extent adopted and with which his name and memory will ever be associated.

Devoting his brilliant talents to the relief of the oppressed and to the lifting up of the down-trodden; keeping always before him the very highest standards of morality and virtue, following after righteousness for righteousness' sake, while impatient of the limitations of creeds, and expressing his love of God chiefly in his unceasing care for the exaltation of God's noblest work, Sir Samuel Romilly may surely be counted among those famous men of old who "were honoured in their generations and were the glory of their times; merciful men whose righteousness hath not been forgotten".

I think that no other descendant of a Huguenot Refugee has left so broad and deep a mark upon our English Statute Book as Sir Samuel Romilly, yet the legal profession in all its branches has been and is still adorned by Huguenot names with which we are all familiar. Only a few days ago I noticed many among those preserved in honoured remembrance on the walls of the stately hall of the Middle Temple. As in the Church and in the army, so in the law, the stream of illustrious men of Huguenot descent has flowed continuously through the past two centuries, and once more he

who runs may read in the roll call of our Society that neither its force nor its purity is in any immediate danger of abatement.

Already I have detained you too long, taxing severely your patience while yet the half of my story is not told ; no, nor the twentieth part of it.

May I beg you to gather from this that the influence of our French ancestors on this fair land of England offers so wide a field for inquiry, and one of such varied interest, that there must be few among us to whom some section does not specially appeal. May I also remind you that the investigation of this subject is described in the by-laws as one of the ends for which our Society was founded.

This evening I have been able to trace Huguenot influence only upon the Church, the army and the law, and in each case most imperfectly. No time is left even to touch upon the work of Huguenot doctors, scientists, musicians, teachers, authors, manufacturers, merchants, yet one cannot doubt that in family records and in private libraries information exists in relation to every one of these groups which would reward diligent research. In a late paper Mr. Lionel Cust showed us quite an undreamt of number of Huguenot artists. I have great hope that the position our Society has already won in the world of letters by the production of useful and original work may be strengthened by similar papers upon some of the groups I have named.

## In Memoriam.

WILLIAM JOHN CHARLES MOENS, F.S.A.

BORN 12TH MAY, 1833.

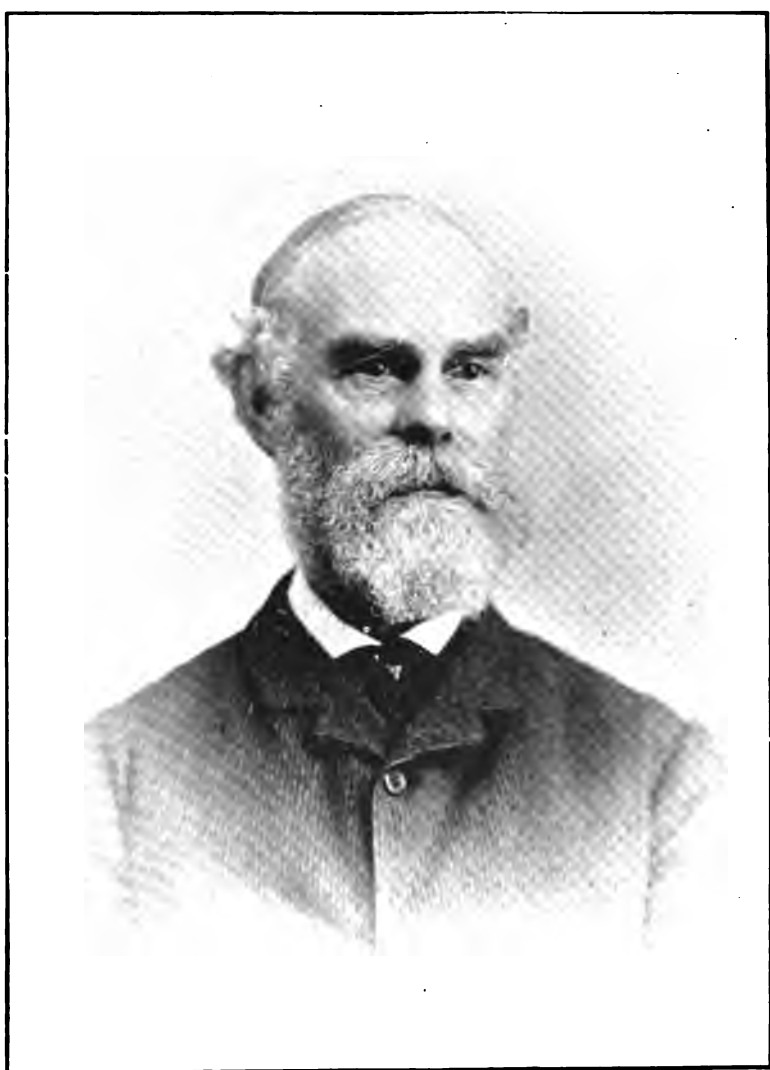
DIED 6TH JANUARY, 1904.

*President*—1899-1902. *Vice-President*—1888-1899, and 1902-1904.

By the death of Mr. W. J. C. Moens the Huguenot Society of London has sustained the loss of one of its founders and most active members, while workers in other departments of usefulness and research will miss a genial helper, whose accurate and varied knowledge was of great value and always most readily imparted.

The name of the family is of Walloon origin and of great antiquity, derived from the town of Mons, in Hainault. *Godefridus de Monte* is mentioned in a charter of Henry, Duke of Lotharingia, in 1200. Several of the name were *Echevins* of Brussels in the fourteenth century. In 1485 we find *Willem van Mons*, or *Moens*, settled at Geervliet, in the Island of Voorne, Holland. Subsequent descendants are found at The Hague and at Rotterdam, where *Henricus Moens* married, in 1752, *Sophia*, daughter of *Simon Bernelot*. *Adrian Moens*, their son, migrated to England, was naturalised (49, George III.), and became Consul for the Kingdom of the Netherlands at Bristol. Other members of the family remained in Holland, and in the time of Napoleon *Jacob Bernelot Moens*, born at Rotterdam, 1796, removed to England, settled as a merchant in London, and died in 1856. His second son, *William J. C. Moens*, the subject of this notice, was born in 1833, and entered business on the London Stock Exchange, from which he retired early in life.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Arms* of Moens—Gu. a chevron between three trefoils arg. *Crest*—Two eagles' wings conjoined. *Motto*—Carpe diem.





In 1863 he married *Anne*, daughter of *Thomas Warlters*, Esq., of Heathfield Park, Addington.

While travelling in Italy in 1865 Mr. and Mrs. Moens had an unfortunate experience which caused considerable sensation at the time. On the 20th of May, while they were returning, in company with the Rev. and Mrs. J. C. Murray Aynsley, from a visit to the temples at Pæstum, a band of brigands stopped the carriage and carried off the two gentlemen. The ladies, after anxiously waiting till nightfall, took refuge at a neighbouring village, where they were joined on the following morning by Mr. Aynsley alone, Mr. Moens having been detained as a hostage. After four months of great hardship he was released on payment of 30,000 ducats (£5,100). The criminals carried on the negotiation without detection, but Mr. Moens ever after felt the effects of the exposure and severe marchings. His capture and all that he underwent at this period are described in his book, *English Travellers and Italian Brigands*, 2 vols., 1866, which passed through several editions, was widely circulated in America and translated into several foreign languages. The proceeds of the sale of this book Mr. Moens generously gave to the building of a school at Boldre, in which parish he had made his home.

In 1867 Mr. Moens acquired the beautiful estate of Tweed, near Lymington, in the New Forest, where he devoted himself to literary work and out-door pursuits. An experienced yachtsman and engineer, he in 1869 ascended the Rhine to Strasburg and navigated a small steamer the *Cicada* on the voyage, returning home by Havre. In 1875 another trip was undertaken, an account of which is given in *Through France and Belgium by River and Canal in the Steam Yacht Ytene*, published in 1876. The book is most pleasantly written, with fresh and lively descriptions interspersed with practical information for yachting readers.

Mr. Moens' activity and comprehensive grasp of things were displayed among his neighbours in ways many and various. He took a kindly interest in the welfare of the Commoners of the New Forest, his zeal and energy on their behalf earning for him the title of the "Commoners' Champion". He fought their battles and no one knew so well the intricacies of Forest Law. "The New Forest Pony Association" for improving the breed received his generous and personal assistance. As a County Magistrate, and a member of the Hants County Council from the time of its formation, his



business habits and persevering industry were of great value. Elected in 1886 a Fellow of the Society of Antiquaries of London, he was appointed a local secretary for the County of Hants, and was also a member of the Hants Field Club and Archæological Society, in which he took an active interest.

It was however chiefly in connection with the Huguenot Society of London that Mr. Moens' literary reputation has been achieved. He was one of the twelve who formed the first Council in 1885, read the first paper before the Society (13th May, 1885), and edited their first published volume, which, admirable for its matter and arrangement, has served as a model for the rest. On the expiration of his period of three years' service on the Council it was proposed at the fourth annual meeting (13th June, 1888) that in order to retain permanently his valuable services in the direction of affairs Mr. Moens should be elected a Vice-President. He filled the office of President from 1899 to 1902.

Mr. Moens' published works besides those above referred to comprise : *The Register and Monumental Inscriptions of the Dutch Church, Austin Friars*, privately printed 1884 ; and for the Huguenot Society : *The Walloons and Their Church at Norwich*, 1887-1888 ; *The Registers of the French Church, Threadneedle Street, London*, 1896-99 ; *The Registers of the Dutch Church at Colchester* (the last-named work being in the press at the time of his death). Mr. Moens also contributed several communications to the *Proceedings*.<sup>1</sup> His first paper, read 13th May, 1885, and his Presidential Address of 1900<sup>2</sup> form a valuable guide to sources of information with regard to Huguenot history. He also published in *Archæologia* (vol. li., p. 205) a paper on the Bibliography of "Cronyc Historie des Nederlandtsches Oorlogen". A regular attendant at the summer conferences and ordinary meetings of the Huguenots, he invariably was able to throw light on the subject under discussion.

The death of Mr. Moens was sudden. He had been ill for some time previously, but having become much better he was able to resume some of his public work. On Wednesday morning, 6th January, he was preparing to attend a meeting of the New Forest Verderers at Lyndhurst. The carriage was in readiness at the door, but as Mr. Moens did not come down at the time appointed (though always punctual to the minute)

<sup>1</sup> Vol. i., p. 197 ; vol. iii., p. 53 ; vol. v., p. 321.

<sup>2</sup> *Proceedings*, vol. vi., p. 190.

on going to his room it was found that he had passed away, death being due to an affection of the heart. A man of simple and real piety, the writer remembers Mr. Moens' grateful acceptance of a little book for use at family prayers, a practice always observed in the household. He was specially pleased when he found that it was compiled by the Rev. F. Bourdillon, a clergyman of Huguenot descent.

In spite of inclement weather the funeral at Boldre Church, on Monday, 11th January, was largely attended by all classes, including many humble neighbours. Numerous colleagues in various departments of public life were present to testify to their regard for one who was ever zealous and active for the general well-being of those among whom his lot was cast. The Huguenot Society of London was represented on the occasion by Mr. R. S. Faber, F.S.A., the Hon. Secretary, and the Rev. G. W. Minns, F.S.A., a member of the Council.

By his will Mr. Moens bequeathed his valuable collection of books to the Hampshire County Council, with the proviso that any works needed for completing the Library of the French Hospital, Victoria Park, London, should be allotted to that institution.

G. W. M.



Proceedings  
of the  
Huguenot Society of London

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FIRST ORDINARY MEETING OF THE SESSION,  
1904-1905,

HELD AT

THE HOTEL WINDSOR, VICTORIA STREET,  
WESTMINSTER,

WEDNESDAY, 9TH NOVEMBER, 1904.

A. G. BROWNING, Esq., F.S.A., President, in the Chair.

THE Minutes of the Meeting held on 11th May were read and confirmed.

The following were elected Fellows of the Society :—

Frank E. Bishop, Esq., 117 Mount Pleasant Lane, Clapton, N.E.

James Bishop, Esq., 117 Mount Pleasant Lane, Clapton, N.E.

John Herbert Bishop, Esq., 117 Mount Pleasant Lane, Clapton, N.E.

Lieut.-Colonel Ernest Lucas de Cordes, Woodside, Portishead, Somerset.

Mrs. Dent, 115A Sloane Street, S.W.

Henry West Fovargue, Esq., Cransley, Saffrons Road, Eastbourne.

The Rev. David Edmondes Owen, Llanelwedd Rectory, Builth Wells.

Colonel Herbert Arthur Remer, 56 Onslow Gardens, S.W.

Miss Mary Frances Saurin, 37 Prince's Gate, S.W.

William A. Shaw, Esq., Litt.D., Hillcrest, Mountfield Road, Finchley, N.

A lecture was given by Dr. T. Miller Maguire on "The British Soldier in Continental Wars of Religion".



**Lettre de François de Gauffier de St. Blancard, Ministre  
de la cour à Berlin, à quelques Ministres français  
réfugiés en Angleterre.**

LA lettre que nous imprimons ici pour la première fois dans la langue originale a été retrouvée parmi les manuscrits Court de la Bibliothèque de Genève.

Quoiqu'elle ne soit pas datée, son contenu nous renseigne exactement sur le temps où elle fut écrite. C'était sous le règne de Jacques II. Le roi venait de promulguer de sa propre autorité, en opposition avec les lois du royaume britannique, la fameuse *Déclaration de liberté de conscience*, qui devint bientôt une des causes de sa chute, et de l'accession au trône de Guillaume III.

Cette Déclaration, pour être valable, aurait dû, non seulement être signée par le roi, mais votée par le parlement, puisque les lois qu'elle renversait avaient été faites conjointement par le roi et le parlement. Mais ce dernier, s'étant refusé à l'accepter, fut cassé par Jacques II., qui, dans l'intervalle de la législation parlementaire, fit paraître, de son chef, la Déclaration de liberté de conscience.

De nos jours, il peut sembler étrange qu'une telle Déclaration ait été refusée par un parlement protestant, ami de la liberté ; mais ce qui nous paraît singulier s'explique fort bien par les effets qu'elle était appelée à produire, et qui ne tarderent pas à se manifester.

Il s'agissait, par cette dérogation aux lois existantes, de nommer aux grandes charges du Royaume, les papistes qui en étaient exclus, et de remplacer petit à petit le gouvernement protestant par un gouvernement catholique. Ce premier pas en aurait amené un second, qui eût été la nomination des catholiques au Parlement d'Angleterre. Dès-lors, roi et parlement, marchant d'accord, auraient pu travailler hardiment à l'extinction de la religion protestante en Angleterre, puisque rien ne les aurait plus retenus.

Voilà quel était le danger ! Les principaux évêques de

l'Eglise épiscopale comprirent si bien la situation critique faite au protestantisme anglais, qu'ils refusèrent de faire lire dans leurs diocèses la Déclaration du roi Jacques II., au risque de perdre leur position et leur liberté.

Les Presbytériens, qui venaient d'endurer de cruelles persécutions, furent divisés dans leur manière d'envisager la question. Les uns ne voulurent pas se rallier à la Déclaration; mais les autres, n'apercevant pas le piège qui leur était tendu, lui donnèrent leur sanction, et firent parvenir au roi l'expression de leur reconnaissance.

Même diversité d'opinion parmi les réfugiés français qui se trouvaient à Londres. Plusieurs de leurs ministres approuvèrent ouvertement la Déclaration du roi.

C'est à ceux-ci que *François de Gaultier de St. Blancard*, ministre de la cour à Berlin, adressa la lettre ci-jointe, en 1688. Gaultier, ancien pasteur à Montpellier, s'était réfugié d'abord en Hollande, puis à Berlin. Il fut l'homme de confiance du prince d'Orange, et ensuite de l'Electeur de Brandebourg, qui l'honora de diverses fonctions et missions importantes. Gaultier fut, avec Jurieu, l'un des chefs les plus en vue et les plus actifs du refuge.

Très peiné de voir, comment certains ministres français à Londres avaient pris position, en faveur de la Déclaration, Gaultier leur écrivit, tant en son nom que celui de *quelques protestants français réfugiés en Allemagne*. Il cherchait à combattre leur manière de voir par divers arguments, qui peuvent se réduire à deux, savoir: l'illégalité de cette Déclaration royale, et le danger qu'elle faisait courir au protestantisme en Angleterre. Sa lettre fut traduite en anglais, puis imprimée, pour être plus facilement répandue.<sup>1</sup> Le 1<sup>er</sup> décembre 1688, il en adressait une copie à Mirmand, et c'est cette copie qui est arrivée jusqu'à nous. Elle dénote un grand sens politique, et beaucoup de perspicacité.

Quoique datant de plus de 200 ans, cette lettre présente encore de l'intérêt, en faisant connaître les divers points de vue, auxquels se plaçaient les chrétiens anglais et leurs amis d'Europe, vis-à-vis de cette question délicate.

MARIE DE CHAMBRIER.

<sup>1</sup> "A Letter of several French Ministers fled into Germany upon the account of the Persecution in France, to such of their Brethren in England as approved the King's Declaration touching Liberty of Conscience. Translated from the Original in French [by Archbishop Wake]. No place or date. 4<sup>o</sup>."

This translation does not bear Gaultier's name, but, like the original, is signed "N. N.". A copy is in the British Museum.



**Lettre<sup>1</sup> de plusieurs Ministres François. Réfugiez en  
 Allétagne ; a Quelques autres Ministres de la  
 même Nation. Réfugiez en Angleterre. Qui ont  
 approuvé la Déclaration touchant la Liberté de  
 Conscience.**

MESSIEURS NOS TRES CHERS, & TRES-HONOREZ FRERES,

QUOI que dans nôtre dispersion, la Providence Divine nous ait conduits dans des Lieux fort éloignez les uns des autres ; l'Union qui doit être toujours entre nous, nous oblige à nous dire nos sentimens les uns aux autres, avec une liberté chrétienne et fraternelle, dans les occasions qui peuvent s'en présenter. C'est ce qui nous fait espérer, que vous ne prendrez pas en mauvaise part, que nous entreprennions de vous expliquer nos pensées, sur ce qui se passe en Angleterre, à l'égard de la Religion, & sur la conduite que vous y tenez vous-mêmes.

Nous ne vous cacherons pas, que la plupart des Protestans qui sont répandus dans l'Europe, n'aient été extrêmement scandalisez d'apprendre, que quelques uns de vous, à l'exemple de plusieurs Presbitériens, ont fait des Remercimens au Roi de la Grand-Bretagne, de la Déclaration, par laquelle il a accordé la Liberté de Conscience, à tous ceux qu'on appelle *Non-Conformistes* ; & que d'autres, qui s'étoient déjà rangés sous l'Épiscopat, ont publié cette Déclaration en Chaire ; à-mesure que presque tous les Evêques refusoient de le faire, avec tant de Fermeté et de Courage.

S'il nous est permis de dire ce que nous pensons, de la conduite des Evêques, et de celle des Presbitériens, dans cette conjoncture ; nous ne ferons pas difficulté, de prononcer en faveur des premiers. Il nous semble qu'ils ont très bien rempli le Devoir de leur Charge, & qu'au préjudice de leurs propres intérêts, ils ont dignement soutenu ceux de la Religion

<sup>1</sup> Bib. de Genève, Ms. Court, Rec. et Mém., Tom. U., No. 17, p. 227.

Protestante ; au lieu que les autres, faute de réflexion, ont abandonné les intérêts de la Religion, pour leurs intérêts particuliers.

Ce n'est, ni par complaisance pour les Evêques, ni par haine contre les Presbitériens que nous en faisons des jugemens si différens. Nous savons louer, ou blâmer ce qui nous paroît digne de louange, ou de blâme, dans les uns et dans les autres. Nous n'approuvons point la conduite que les Evêques ont tenue, sous le dernier Regne, envers les Presbitériens ; & quoi que nous n'approuvions pas non-plus celle des Presbitériens, à l'égard de leur séparation ; nous reconnoissons néanmoins, qu'ils ont eû raison dans le fond ; et que les Cérémonies qu'ils n'ont pas voulu recevoir, sont des restes du Papisme, qu'il auroit été bon d'abolir entièrement. Dans ce funeste schisme qui déchire l'Eglise d'Angleterre, depuis si longtemps, nous croions, que les deux Partis ont également manqué de Charité. D'un côté, les Presbitériens ne devoient jamais se séparer pour la forme du Gouvernement Ecclesiastique, ni pour les Cérémonies qui ne touchoient point au fond de la Religion. Et de l'autre, les Evêques devoient avoir, pour la foiblesse de leurs Freres, plus de suport qu'ils n'en ont eû : & ils auroient sans doute agi d'une manière plus conforme à l'esprit de l'Evangile ; si au lieu de les traiter avec la dernière rigueur, ainsi qu'ils l'ont fait, ils leur eüssent laissé la Liberté de servir Dieu, selon les mouvemens de leur Conscience ; attendant qu'il lui plût, de les réunir tous sous une même Discipline. Quoi qu'il en soit, la conformité des sentimens des Presbitériens avec les nôtres, auroit dû nous prévenir en leur faveur, si nous eüssions été capables de partialité en cette rencontre. Il y a même une autre chose, qui auroit pu nous faire juger moins favorablement de la Conduite des Evêques, que de la leur : savoir le ioug que les Evêques ont imposé, aux Ministres François ; les obligeant à recevoir une seconde Ordination de leurs mains, avant que de pouvoir exercer leur Ministère dans l'Eglise Anglicane ; comme si l'Ordination qu'ils avoient reçûe en France, n'eût pas été suffisante. Mais il faut faire justice à tout le monde, & rendre témoignage à la Vérité. Nous l'avons déjà dit, & nous le redisons encore : il nous semble, que dans cette dernière occasion, les Evêques ont fait leur devoir, & sont tres dignes de Louange ; & que les Presbitériens au-contraire sont extrêmement blâmables. Nous vous dirons bientôt les raisons, qui nous font juger ainsi des uns et des autres.



Cependant nos tres-chers Freres, agreez que nous vous disions avec franchise, que si nos Freres les Presbitériens d'Angleterre, qui ont fait des Remercimens, sont coupables, comme nous le croions, vous l'êtes beaucoup davantage. L'oppression dans laquelle ils vivoient, depuis plusieurs années, sans Temples, sans Pasteurs, sans Assemblées ; leur a fait trouver douce la Liberté de Conscience qu'on leur a offerte. Leur esprit aigri et prévenu, par les mauvais traitemens qu'ils avoient reçus de la part des Evêques n'a pas eû assez de liberté pour découvrir, que le présent qu'on leur faisoit, étoit un présent empoisonné : si-bien qu'ils l'ont d'abord reçu avec joie ; & qu'ils se sont crû obligés d'en temoigner de la reconnoissance. Mais vous, Messieurs, qui n'aviez eû aucune part aux divisions de l'Eglise d'Angleterre, & qui étiez par conséquent en état de juger plus sainement des choses ; comment n'avez-vous pas aperçu le venin, qui étoit caché sous la Liberté de Conscience qu'on leur offroit ? Et si vous ne l'aperceviez pas de vous-mêmes ; comment le généreux refus que les Evêques ont fait, au peril de leur Liberté, & de leurs biens, de faire publier la Déclaration dans leurs Diocèzes ; ne vous a-t-il pas au-moins ouvert les yeux ?

Que ces vénérables Prélats se sont hautement justifiés du reproche qu'on leur faisoit, d'avoir du penchant pour le Papisme ; & de ne persécuter les Presbitériens, que par une haine secrette contre la Réformation ! Qu'ils ont bien fait voir, que c'étoient là des calomnies inventées par leurs ennemis, pour les rendre odieux aux Protestans ; & que leurs coeurs étoient véritablement pénétrés de la Religion Réformée, & animez d'un Zèle digne des anciens Evêques ! Avez-vous pû les voir, Messieurs, ces fidèles Serviteurs de Dieu, désobeir aux Ordres de leur Souverain, s'exposer par-là à sa disgrâce, souffrir la prison, & se préparer à tout, plutôt que de trahir leur Conscience, & leur Religion ; sans admirer leur constance, & sans être touchés de leur exemple ? Avez-vous pû sur-tout vous résoudre, à condamner par votre conduite, celle de ces généreux Confesseurs ? Est-celà la reconnoissance que vous deviez leur temoigner, de la Charité avec laquelle ils vous avoient reçus et consolés, dans votre exil ? Est-ce là repondre à cette auguste qualité de Confesseurs, dont vous vous glorifiez vous-mêmes ? Est-ce l'action de fidèles ministres de Jesus-Christ ? Permettez nous de vous dire, nos tres chers Freres, que votre procedé nous paroît si étrange, que nous ne saurions comprendre,

comment vous en avez été capables. Il nous semble, qu'il efface toute la Gloire que vous vous étiez acquise par vos propres souffrances, qu'il flétrit votre ministère, et qu'il est même indigne de vrais Chrétiens Reformez.

Ce n'est point là un jugement téméraire et précipité. Pour vous en faire convenir, nous vous supplions seulement, d'examiner les choses avec nous, sans préoccupation, & sans intérêt.

La Déclaration dont il s'agit, tend à deux fins : l'une est le rétablissement du Papisme, et l'autre, l'extinction de la Religion Réformée, en Angleterre. Le premier de ces desseins y paroît à-découvert ; le second y est plus caché ; c'est un mystère d'iniquité, qu'on y enveloppe d'une belle apparence, & dont on ourdit secrettement la trame, attendant le tems de la manifester. Nous ne disons rien d'un troisième dessein, qui est l'oppression de la Liberté de l'Angleterre, & l'établissement de l'Autorité Absolue : nous laissons aux Politiques, à faire leurs réflexions là-dessus. Pour nous, si nous en touchons quelque chose, ce ne sera que par rapport à la Religion. Nous nous atacherons donc seulement aux deux autres desseins qu'on s'est proposé dans la Déclaration.

On ne peut nier, que par cette Déclaration, la Liberté de Conscience ne soit accordée également, aux Papistes, et aux Protestans qui sont séparés des Evêques. On les comprend les uns et les autres, sous le nom de *Non-Conformistes*. On peut même dire avec assurance, que ce sont surtout les Papistes, que Sa Majesté Britannique a eus en vue, lors qu'Elle a donné sa Déclaration, & que quelque semblant qu'Elle y fasse, d'être touchée de l'oppression que les Presbitériens ont soufferte ; son principal dessein a été, de rétablir le Papisme.

N'est-ce pas là déjà un grand mal, Messieurs, & un mal, auquel tous les véritables Protestans sont obligés, de s'opposer de tout leur pouvoir ? Quoi ! L'on verra le Papisme, cette Religion abominable, cet amas prodigieux d'impureté et d'ordures ; on le verra se rétablir avec toutes ses horreurs, dans des Roïaumes d'où la Réformation l'avoit hûreusement banni : & il se trouvera dans ces mêmes Roïaumes, des Protestans, qui non seulement demeureront les bras croisez, & n'y apporteront aucun obstacle ; mais qui favoriseront ce rétablissement, & y donneront ouvertement leur approbation ! Qui auroit crû, que les Presbitériens d'Angleterre ; eux qui ont toujours témoigné tant d'aversion contre la Religion Romaine, & qui ne se sont séparés des Evêques, que sous prétexte que ceux-ci avoient retenu en partie, dans leur



Gouvernement, & dans leurs Cérémonies, l'extérieur de cette Religion, dussent aujourd'hui aller eux-mêmes à la rétablir toute-entière ? Et qui auroit crû, que des Ministres François, qui après avoir éprouvé toutes les fureurs du Papisme en France, en avoient été enfin bannis, pour n'avoir pas voulu souscrire à ses erreurs, & à ses abus ; & s'étoient retirez en Angleterre, pour pouvoir y professer librement la Religion Protestante ; dussent aujourd'hui contribuer au rétablissement du Papisme, dans cette nouvelle Patrie, où ils avoient été reçûs par leurs Freres, avec une si grande Charité ? Voudriez-vous donc, Messieurs, voir l'Angleterre de rechef soumise à la tyrannie du Pape, dont elle avoit secoué le joug, dans le siècle passé ? Voudriez vous y voir régner tous ces dogmes monstrieux, toutes ces superstitions, & cette horrible idolatrie, qui y régnoient avant la Reformation ? Voudriez-vous, que l'on y entendit désormais retentir les Chaires, et les Eglises, des Doctrines du Purgatoire, des Indulgences, du Sacrifice de la Masse, &c., que l'on y vit porter solennellement en Procession, les Images et les Reliques des Saints, & un Dieu formé par la main des hommes ; et qu'enfin l'on y adorât publiquement toutes ces vaines Idoles ? Nous sommes persuadés, qu'il n'est point de bon Protestant qui ne frémisses de cette pensée.

Mais ce n'est pas tout. La Déclaration dont nous parlons, ne rétablit pas seulement le Papisme, avec toutes ses abominations, elle tend encore à la ruine de la Reformation, en Angleterre. Il n'est pas nécessaire d'avoir une grande pénétration, pour être convaincu qu'à mesure, qu'elle semble affermir pour toujours la Religion Protestante, dans ce Royaume, elle en sape au contraire les plus solides fondemens.

Les fondemens sur lesquels la Réformation est apuïée, en Angleterre, ce sont les Loix qui ont été données en divers tems, pour l'établir ; & pour abolir, ou la tyrannie du Pape ou le Papisme tout-entier. Et comme ces Loix ont été faites, par le Roi et par le Parlement conjointement ; & que le Roi n'a pas le pouvoir de les révoquer, sans le Parlement ; elles mettent la Religion Protestante en sûreté contre les entreprises des Rois, qui pourroient avoir la pensée de la détruire.

Cependant si la Déclaration s'exécutoit il ne faudroit plus compter sur ces Loix solennelles, qui ont été données en faveur de la Réformation, elles ne seroient plus d'aucune considération ; & la Religion seroit entièrement à la merci du Roi. C'est ce qui paroitra clairement, par ce que nous allons dire.

Le Roi n'ayant pû obtenir du dernier Parlement, qu'il

consentit à la Cassation des Loix, qui avoient été établies contre les *Non-Conformistes* ; cassa le Parlement-même. En suite, sans en attendre un nouveau, il a fait lui seul par ces Déclarations, ce que le Parlement n'avoit pas voulu faire conjointement avec lui. Il a acordé une pleine Liberté de Conscience aux *Non-Conformistes*, il les a déchargez des peines qui avoient été ordonnées contre eux ; & il les a dispensez des Sermens, auxquels les Loix obligeoient tous ceux qui étoient admis aux Charges, soit de la Milice, soit de la Justice, ou de la Police. En conséquence de ces Déclarations, il a dépouillé les Protestans des Charges les plus importantes, pour y élever des Papistes, et il travaille sans relâche, à l'entier rétablissement du Papisme. Qui ne voit, que si les Protestans approuvent ces Déclarations, s'ils autorisent eux-mêmes de telles entreprises, le Roi ne demeurera pas en si beau chemin ; & que ce lui sera une planche pour aller beaucoup plus loin ? Que pourra-t-on dire, lorsqu'il en usera à l'égard des Loix qui excluent les Papistes du Parlement, de la même manière qu'il l'aura fait, à l'égard de celles qui les excluient des Charges & des Emplois, & qui leur défendoient l'Exercise de leur Religion ? L'approbation des Déclarations qui renversent les dernières, n'émporte-t-elle pas à l'avance l'approbation de celles qui renverseront un jour les premières. Et si le Roi se donne une fois l'Autorité, d'admettre les Papistes dans le Parlement ; qui l'empêchera, d'employer les sollicitations, les promesses, les menaces, & mille semblables moiens, pour faire un Parlement papiste ? Et qui l'empêchera, de revokez conjointement avec ce nouveau Parlement, toutes les anciennes Loix qu'on avoit données contre le Papisme, et d'en établir de nouvelles contre les Protestans ? Ce sont là sans doute les suites naturelles de ce que le Roi entreprend aujourd'hui, ce sont là les fruits que l'on en doit attendre ; si au lieu d'approuver, comme l'on fait, ses entreprises contre les Loix, l'on ne s'y oppose au-contraire avec toute la vigueur imaginable.

Faites un peu de réflexion, sur tout ce que nous venons de vous dire, Messieurs : & vous avouerez, que nous avons raison, de louer la conduite des Evêques, qui ont refusé de faire publier la Déclaration, et de condamner celle des Presbitériens, qui en ont fait des Remercimens.

Il est vrai, que les Presbitériens sont à plaindre, & qu'on les a traités cruellement : & nous ne trouvons pas étrange, qu'ils soupirent ardemment après la Liberté de Conscience. Il est naturel, à des gens qui sont dans l'oppression, de

chercher du soulagement : & la Liberté de Conscience, considérée en elle-Même, est la chose du monde la plus précieuse et la plus souhaitable. Plût-à-Dieu, que nous pussions la leur procurer, par des voies légitimes, détachée de toutes mauvaises suites, fût-ce au péril de notre propre vie ! Mais nous les conjurons de considérer, combien est pernicieuse cette Liberté de Conscience qu'on leur offre, ainsi que nous venons de le montrer. D'un côté elle est inséparablement attachée au rétablissement du Papisme ; & de l'autre ils ne peuvent l'accepter, qu'en aprouvant une brèche terrible que Sa Majesté Britannique fait aux Loix, & qui causeroit la ruine de la Réformation dans ses Etats, si l'on y apportoit du remède. Et où est le Protestant, qui voulût acheter la Liberté de Conscience à ce prix-là, et qui n'aimât mieux en demeurer privé toute sa vie ?

Faut-il que l'intérêt particulier de nos Freres les Presbiteriens les aveugle de telle sorte qu'ils n'aient aucun égard à l'intérêt général de l'Eglise ! Faut-il, que pour jouir d'une Liberté de Conscience malassûrée, ils ferment les yeux à toute autre considération ! Ne feroient-ils pas mieux, de se réunir avec les Evêques, avec lesquels ils ne sont en différend, que de quelques Points de Discipline, sur-tout aujourd'hui, que la conduite de ceux-ci doit avoir entièrement effacé les injustes soupçons, qu'ils avoient conçu contre eux ? Et s'ils ne peuvent pas se disposer si promptement à cette Réunion, ne vaudroit-il pas mieux, qu'ils se résolussent à demeurer encore sans Liberté de Conscience, attendant un tems plus favorable, pour l'obtenir par des voies légitimes ; que d'ouvrir eux-Mêmes la porte au Papisme & de concourir avec lui à la ruine de la Religion Protestante ?

On nous dira peut-être, qu'il nous sied mal, à nous qui nous plaignons si fort, de ce qu'on nous a ôté la Liberté de Conscience en France ; de trouver mauvais que le Roi de la Grand-Bretagne la donne à ses sujets en Angleterre ; & que d'ailleurs, c'est le moins que l'on puisse acorder à un Souverain, que le droit de permettre l'Exercice de sa Religion dans ses Etats ; & de se servir de tels de ses Sujets qu'il lui plaira, les élevant aux Charges & aux Emplois. On ajoutera, que Sa Majesté Britannique n'entreprend, ni de casser les anciennes Loix, ni d'en établir de nouvelles ; qu'il dispense seulement de l'observation de certaines Loix, ceux de ses Sujets que bon lui semble, & pour le tems qu'il lui plaît ; et que le Droit de Dispense, & de Suspension, est un Droit inséparable attaché à sa Personne. Qu'au reste, la



Religion Protestante ne court point de risque. Il y a des Loix, dira-t-on, qui excluent les Papistes du Parlement, & ces Loix ne peuvent souffrir ni Dispense, ni Suspension : si bien que le Parlement partageant l'Autorité Législative avec le Roi, & demeurant toujours Protestant, il n'est pas à craindre, qu'on fasse des Loix contre la Religion Protestante. Et puis, quelle apparence, qu'un Roi qui paroît si fort ennemi de l'oppression, à l'égard de la Conscience & de la Religion ; puisse jamais avoir la pensée, quand même il en auroit le pouvoir, d'opprimer lui-même à cet égard la plus grande partie de ses Sujets, & de leur ôter la Liberté de Conscience, qu'il leur accorde maintenant, & qu'il promet de leur conserver à l'avenir ?

Voilà toutes les objections, qu'on peut faire avec quelque apparence de raison, sur ce que nous avons dit ci-devant. Elles se réduisent à cinq, qu'il sera bon d'examiner, les unes après les autres. Il ne nous sera pas mal-aisé de faire voir, que ce ne sont que de pures illusions.

Premièrement, nous nous plaignons justement, de ce qu'on France ou nous a ôté la Liberté de Conscience ; parce qu'on l'a fait contre les Loix : et l'on peut se plaindre avec autant de justice, de ce que le Roi de la Grand-Bretagne travaille à rétablir le Papisme en Angleterre ; parce qu'il ne peut le faire que contre les Loix. Nos Libertez étoient fondées en France, sur des Loix solennelles, sur des Edits perpétuels, irrévocables, & sacrez, & qu'on n'a pû révoquer, sans violer la Foi Publique, la Parole Roïale, & la Sainteté du Serment. Et le Papisme a été banni d'Angleterre, par des Loix, qui ont été faites par le Roi & par le Parlement ; & qui ne peuvent être révoquées, que par l'Autorité du Roi & du Parlement conjointement ; si bien qu'on a lieu de trouver à dire, que le Roi les renverse lui seul par ses Déclarations.

Secondement, il n'est pas vrai, qu'un Souverain ait toujours le Droit de permettre l'Exercice de sa Religion dans ses Etats, ni de se servir de tels de ses Sujets que bon lui semble, c'est à dire de les élever aux Charges et aux Emplois. Il n'a pas ce Droit là, lors que les Loix de l'Etat y sont contraires, comme elles le sont dans le cas présent. Un Roi est obligé, d'observer les Loix fondamentales de son Etat : & Sa Majesté Britannique est soumise, de même que ses Sujets, aux Loix qui ont été établies, par le Roi & par le Parlement conjointement.

Pour un troisième, la distinction entre la Cassation d'une Loi, & la Dispense ou la Suspension, ne peut être ici d'aucun usage. Que le Roi casse les Loix, qui ont été données contre le Papisme ; ou que sans dire expressément qu'il les casse, il

les renverse par ses Déclarations, sous prétexte de Dispense ou de Suspension ; n'est-ce-pas toujours la même chose ? Et que sert-il, que les Loix ne soient point cassées ; si cependant on donne toutes les Charges aux Papistes, si l'on rétablit même le Papisme, contre la teneur des Loix ? En vérité s'il est vrai, que le Roi ait ce pouvoir, si c'est un Droit attaché à sa Personne ; c'est en vain que le Parlement partage avec lui l'Autorité de faire & de casser les Loix : cette Autorité du Parlement n'est qu'un vain nom ; ce n'est qu'une ombre, qu'un fantôme, qu'une chimère. Le Roi est toujours le Maître absolu ; puis qu'il peut seul et sans le Parlement, éluder et rendre utiles par ses Déclarations, les Loix que le Parlement aura le plus solennellement établies conjointement avec lui. Nous avouons, que le Roi a le Droit, de donner des Dispenses en de certains cas, comme lorsqu'il s'agit de ses propres intérêts : il peut sans doute relâcher de ses Droits, quand il lui plaît ; c'est une liberté, qu'on ne peut lui contester. Mais il n'a pas le pouvoir d'accorder des Dispenses, au préjudice des Droits du Peuple, ni par conséquent de mettre les biens, la liberté, & la vie de ses Sujets Protestans, entre les mains des Papistes.

Ce que nous venons de dire, pour répondre à la troisième Objection, paroitra dans un plus grand jour, par la Réponse que nous allons donner à la quatrième. On veut persuader aux Protestans, que leur Religion est en sûreté ; par ce que d'un côté, le Roi ne peut point faire de Loix, sans le Parlement ; & que de l'autre, y aiant des Loix qui excluent les Papistes du Parlement, il faut nécessairement que le Parlement demeure toujours Protestant. Mais si le Roi a le pouvoir de renverser les Loix, sous prétexte de Dispense ou de Suspension ; qui assurera les Protestans, qu'il ne dispensera pas les Papistes, de l'observation des Loix, qui les excluent du Parlement ; comme ils les a dispensés, de l'obligation de celles qui les excluoient des Charges et des Emplois ? Qui les assurera, qu'il ne suspendra pas l'exécution des premières, comme il a suspendu l'exécution des autres ? Et cela étant, rien n'empêche, qu'on ne puisse voir bientôt un Parlement Papiste, qui conjointement avec le Roi, fera des Loix, contre la Religion Protestante. Quelle différence y peut-il avoir, entre les unes et les autres de ces Loix, qui fasse que les unes soient sujettes à Dispense et à Suspension ; & que les autres ne le soient pas ? N'ont-elles pas été établies les unes et les autres, par le Roi et par le Parlement ? N'ont-elles pas été données les unes et les

autres, pour la sureté de la Religion Protestante, & de ceux qui la professent? Ne s'agit-il pas des Droits du Peuple, dans les unes et dans les autres? Et si l'on souffra, si l'on approuve, que le Roi viole ces Droits à certains égards; ne l'autorise-t-on pas par là, à les violer en tout? S'il lui est permis, de mettre les biens, la liberté, & la vie de ses Sujets Protestans, à la merci des Papistes, élevant ceux-ci aux Charges, contre les Loix; pourquoi ne lui sera-t-il pas permis, d'élever les mêmes Papistes, à l'autorité de Législateurs, les déclarant capables d'entrer dans le Parlement; quoi que cela soit aussi contre les Loix? Qu'on ne se flâte pas. Les Loix sont comme une barrière, qui borne l'Autorité du Roi: et cette barrière étant une fois rompuë; il étendra son Autorité aussi loin qu'il voudra, sans qu'il soit possible de lui donner aucunes bornes.

Enfin, ce seroit peu connoître l'esprit du Papisme, que de s'imaginer, qu'il se contentât de se rétablir en Angleterre, sans penser à y détruire la Religion Protestante. Qu'on lui donne seulement le temps, & les moïens, de s'y fortifier, & l'on verra ce qui en est. Par-tout où il a les forces en main, il ne veut pas seulement régner; il veut être seul, il ne souffre point d'autre Religion, & il emploie le fer & le feu pour *extirper* ce qu'on appelle *l'hérésie*. Quand cette vérité ne seroit pas confirmée par une infinité d'exemples, anciens, & modernes, que l'on peut voir dans l'Histoire; elle ne le seroit que trop, par les crüantez qu'il a exercées depuis peu, contre les Eglises de Hongrie, de France, & des Vallées de Piémont. Et il ne faut pas qu'on s'endorme, sur l'inclination que le Roi de la Grand-Bretagne témoigne pour la Liberté de Conscience, ni sur les promesses qu'il fait de la conserver à tous ses sujets sans distinction. Chacun sait, que la perfidie et la mauvaise-foi sont des Caractères du Papisme, qui ne lui sont pas moins essentiels, que la crüauté. Pourriez-vous en douter, vous, Messieurs, qui venez d'en faire une expérience si funeste? Combien de fois nous avoit-on promis, de nous conserver nos privilèges? Combien de Déclarations, combien d'Edits avoit-on donnez là-dessus? Combien de Sermens avoit-on faits, pour confirmer ces Edits? Le Roi Louis XIV. lui-même n'avoit-il pas promis solennellement, par divers Edits, et diverses Déclarations, de nous maintenir dans toutes les Libertez, qui nous avoient été acordées par l'Edit de Nantes? Cependant quel scrupule a-t-on fait, de violer tant de Loix, tant de promesses, tant de Sermens? Les Protestans d'Angleterre ont aussi très souvent éprouvé



de semblables infidélitez : & pour ne leur en alléguer point ici d'autre exemple ; qu'ils se souviennent seulement du Regne de Marie ; des promesses qu'elle avoit faites à son avènement à la Couronne ; de n'apporter aucun changement à la Religion ; des cruelles Loix qu'elle donna en suite, pour éteindre la Réformation, dès qu'elle se vit affermie sur le Trône ; et de l'inhumanité, avec lequel elle versa le sang de ses plus fidèles Sujets, pour venir à bout de ce dessein. Après cela, ne faudroit-il pas être bien crédule, ne faudroit-il pas vouloir se tromper soi-même ; pour se fier aux promesses du Roi à présent regnant ? Ne sait-on pas qu'il n'y a, ni promesses, ni Sermons ; dont le Pape ne s'attribue le pouvoir de dispenser ceux qu'il veut employer à *l'extirpation de l'hérésie* ? Et ne sait-on pas aussi, que c'est une des grandes Maximes du Papisme, et une Maxime autorisée, & par la doctrine, & par la pratique du Concile de Constance ; *qu'on n'est point obligé, de garder la foi aux Hérétiques* ? Il ne faut pas croire, que Jacques II. lui qui a tant de Zèle pour le Papisme, suive d'autres Maximes, que celles de sa Religion : & si l'on veut examiner sa conduite, soit avant, ou après son Avènement à la Couronne l'on verra, qu'il les a mises plus d'une fois en pratique.

En voilà assez, Messieurs, pour convaincre toutes les Personnes équitables, qu'il n'est rien de plus pernicieux ni de plus funeste, que la Déclaration que vous avez approuvée ; soit par la publication que vous en avez faite, soit par les adresses que vous avez présentées au Roi, pour l'en remercier. Lorsque vous y aurez fait quelque réflexion, vous avouerez sans doute vous-mêmes, que vous vous étiez laissé éblouir, à certains avantages imaginaires, que vous aviez espéré de tirer de cette Déclaration. Cependant suportez-nous, nos tres chers Freres, & pardonnez-nous ; s'il nous est échappé de dire des choses, qui vous déplaisent. Nous n'avons eü dessein de choquer, ni vous, ni nos Freres les Presbitériens d'Angleterre. Si nous vous avons dit librement nos pensées, de votre conduite, & de la leur ; nous n'avons pas parlé avec moins de liberté, de celle des Evêques. Et Dieu nous est témoin, que nous n'avons rien dit, ni des uns ni des autres, que dans la sincérité de notre cœur ; & en veü de contribuer quelque chose à sa Gloire, & au bien de son Eglise.

Nous sommes,

Messieurs nos tres chers, & tres honorez Freres,  
 Vos tres humbles, & tres-obeissans Serviteurs, &  
 tres-affectionés Freres en Jesus Christ.

N. N.

## The Huguenot Huguetans.

By CHARLES DALTON.

"Truth is stranger than fiction."

THE first of this family to settle in France was Jean Antoine Huguetan, whose father is described in Haag's *La France Protestante* as "docteur en droit et conseiller du roi Gustave Adolphe". Jean Antoine made his fortune as a publisher at Lyons, which was, during the seventeenth century, the great book mart of Europe. He married Marguerite Perachon,<sup>1</sup> by whom he had two sons and several daughters. The elder son was christened Jean Henri, and the younger Pierre. It is the former with whom we have to deal primarily.

Jean Henri Huguetan is said to have been born about 1664. He was brought up to his father's business to which he succeeded at his parent's death in 1681.<sup>2</sup> At the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes, in 1685, Huguetan was at the head of one of the richest publishing firms at Lyons. But sooner than abjure his religion he, in common with other prominent Lyons publishers, sacrificed wealth and position and retired to Amsterdam. It is on record that the Huguenot publishers who settled in Holland attained by dint of energy, indomitable perseverance and natural aptitude for their own particular vocation, pre-eminence and fortune. Yet none of these same publishers, we are told by a French biographer, outstripped Huguetan in the race for wealth. He had the foresight to establish book agencies all over Europe; and at the same time he set up a bank and ran the two businesses together. Huguetan's "comptoirs" extended even to Turkey in Asia.<sup>3</sup> By the close of the seventeenth century Huguetan had acquired a colossal fortune.

<sup>1</sup> Will dated Hague, 24th Oct., 1711, and proved in London, 5th July, 1721. MS. pedigree in the possession of Henry Wagner, Esq., F.S.A.

<sup>2</sup> *Huguetan pedigree*.

<sup>3</sup> *La France Protestante*, par Eugène et Emile Haag, Paris, 1846.



French writers assert that le Grand Monarque was not above trying to rob Huguetan of his wealth, and with a view to accomplishing this end the great financier was lured back to France, at an early stage of the War of the Spanish Succession, when the French treasury was at a very low ebb. We are able to give Huguetan's own account of what took place from his deposition dated in December, 1706, in which he states:—

“That being a native of France and Protestant I retired from my country on account of the persecutions.

“That being settled at Amsterdam before the war I entered in commerce with Mr. Bernard, banker for the Court of France, and I, as many other bankers there, furnished considerable sums for paying of the French troops in Flanders.

“That when this war broke out, and the correspondence between France and Holland was interrupted, I had considerable effects in France, which I could not draw from thence to Holland, and I did therefore transport myself to Geneva, a neutral place, but was engaged to pay the French armies in Flanders and Italy, and to advance very great sums to the French in Bavaria.

“That when the sums furnished by me in specie amounted to many millions, the Treasury of France pretended not to pay my bills at the value of French money, as it was current at the time of the advance, but at the time the same was after the crying up of the *louis d'ors* from 12 lib. 10 to 15 lib. and in bills having no ready payment, without consideration of interest for the delay which in so great a sum made a very extraordinary difference.

“That upon these and other reasons I acquainted a Minister of France that I could no longer serve unless justice were done me. Whereupon the Envoy of France at Geneva did from Mons. de Chamillard invite me to come to Paris where I should receive satisfaction in every particular, and entreated me in the meantime to continue in the paying of the armies.

“That relying on these promises I did advance several millions to the armies in Flanders and Italy, and went to Paris; but, being arrived there, in place of performance of what had been promised to me I was put under guard and forced for obtaining my liberty to enter into such contracts, and to submit to such conditions, as were prescribed to me.

"These and many other substantial hardships put upon me were the cause of my flying with the peril of my life a few days before I was to have been arrested anew; but my escape and the causes and effects of it, have made such a noise, and are so notorious, that I have only touched it as short as I could."<sup>1</sup>

Jean Henri Huguetan's natural disinclination to enter on the story of his wrongs might have left future generations in ignorance of the thrilling adventure which was the sequel to his happy escape from Paris, early in 1705. But on the death in London of Huguetan's nephew, Peter Huguetan, Baron Vryhoven, in May, 1791, the following account of the great financier appeared in the *Gentleman's Magazine*:—

"The Baron Huguetan was descended from a Frenchman who, in the beginning of the present century, was one of the greatest bankers in Europe. During the War for the Spanish Succession he was frequently employed by the French Ministry in remitting funds intended for the maintenance of the French armies, either in Spain, Italy, Germany or Flanders. On a certain occasion M. de Ponchartrain<sup>2</sup> being utterly at a loss how to provide without delay, for a very considerable sum of money, sent for Huguetan, desired him to raise the money upon his own credit; at the same time producing bills of exchange for him to sign; and at length insisted upon the signing of the bills, in such a manner, that Huguetan became positively apprehensive for his life, and very likely with good reason: so that he signed all the papers that were offered to him. As soon as he had retired to his own house he immediately, and by the post of the same day, wrote to all those persons upon whom the bills were drawn, for the purpose of cautioning them against paying those bills, which, he said, had been obtained from him by force; and as soon as he had sent his letters he took post and fled to Holland. The bills were accordingly refused to be paid, and the

<sup>1</sup> Petition of John Henry Huguetan to H. M. High Commissioner and the Estates of Parliament in Scotland, 12th December, 1706, given in *Acts of the Parliaments of Scotland*, vol. xi.

<sup>2</sup> Ponchartrain was Secretary of the Navy. Chamillard was War Minister, and, according to the Duke de St. Simon, was a "man of strict rectitude". Ponchartrain, on the other hand, is described by the same writer as a man "who loved evil for its own sake . . . who was in one word a monster". It is possible that the Secretary of the Navy may have been chosen on the momentous occasion described above to do Louis XIV.'s dirty work for him, being better fitted for the job than Chamillard.—C. D.



French Minister resolved to be revenged for the severe disappointment he had experienced on that occasion. He sent an emissary to Holland who was to endeavour to seize upon Huguetan's person, and bring him alive to France.

"The emissary made inquiry and found out that Huguetan had taken shelter in a village, or small town, in North Holland. He repaired to the place, and by using such arts as are commonly practised by those villains who accept commissions of that kind, he got acquainted with Huguetan; moreover he prevailed upon him to lay aside his distrust and suspicions. At length a favourable opportunity occurred for the accomplishment of the scheme. The emissary, assisted by a servant he had brought along with him, found means to seize upon Huguetan. They gagged him and laid him in fetters; and, putting him in a post-chaise, immediately set out for France. They pursued their journey without meeting with any impediment, travelling night and day, and avoiding stopping anywhere. They were already about to pass the last Flemish barrier or gate. At this gate a Custom House officer was stationed. Here the emissary was obliged to alight from the chaise in order to answer some questions in the office. The degree of caution with which he had opened and shut the door of the chaise raised the curiosity of the soldier on duty at the gate; which curiosity became not a little increased by the sight of a large piece of silk stuff that was coming out of the chaise, under the door, and was part of Huguetan's nightgown; for he had been seized and carried off in his night gear. The mysterious manner in which the emissary had alighted from the chaise, together with the sight of this piece of silk stuff, persuaded the soldier that some lady, upon an elopement, was in the chaise. He became anxious to have a peep at her, and accordingly opened the chaise door, when instead of that fine, gay, amorous lady he expected to see, he beheld a man gagged and in fetters. He shut his gate and immediately gave the alarm. The emissary and his servant (who was riding behind the chaise) were both seized and soon after brought to trial."<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The Messieurs Haag briefly refer to Huguetan being kidnapped as follows: "Le gouvernement français le fit enlever, et qu'il ne recouvra la liberté qu'à la frontière hollandaise ou un heureux hasard le fit reconnaître."—*La France Protestante*.

Writing under date of 27th January, 1705, Narcissus Luttrell, the diarist, chronicles that "bills of exchange to the value of £250,000, remitted to Milan for the French army, were protested by Mr. Huguetan, a great banker at Paris". The same writer informs us of Huguetan's escape from France. The next news we have of the refugee banker is contained in a letter from Marlborough to Secretary Harley, dated from the Hague on 28th April, 1705,<sup>1</sup> in which the writer says Huguetan had been with him and promised great matters if the Dutch Government would concur with him. And three days later we find Marlborough again writing to Harley on Huguetan's affairs:—

"I have had another conference with Mr. Huguetan, and find he does not think himself very safe here. . . . He is apprehensive that if the (French) Court should make an application for having him sent to France the States will be at a loss what to do, and may be prevailed with to deliver him up for fear of reprisals on their merchants; therefore he desires leave to go over and that he may be protected in England. . . . It is certain, as he has been employed in all the remittances for the French armies abroad, he may, if he deals honestly, be able to do great service."<sup>2</sup>

Luttrell announces Huguetan's arrival in London under date of 3rd July, 1705:—

"Monsr. Huguetan, a banker at Paris, who used to remit money from thence for payment of the French troops in Italy, lately made his escape, and is arrived here, bringing with him most of his effects and 100,000 pistoles (pounds)."<sup>3</sup>

Huguetan had asked for Queen Anne's protection, which she granted by an Instrument under the Royal Sign Manual. Having secured this safe-guard for his person he petitioned the Queen to safe-guard his money:—

"That in order to render more effectual your Majesty's Gracious intention to protect your petitioner, an Inquisition has been found against him by the advice of Mr. Attorney General, whereby your petitioner is become indebted to your Majesty in the sum of one hundred and five thousand pounds sterling. That Mr. Attorney General was further of opinion that this being only an expedient

<sup>1</sup> *Marlborough Dispatches*, vol. ii., p. 27.

<sup>2</sup> *Marlborough Dispatches*, vol. ii., p. 47.

<sup>3</sup> *Luttrell's Short Relation of State Affairs*, vol. v., p., 569.



for protecting your petitioner in a legal manner, and that your petitioner was not really at all indebted to your Majesty, the said sum of one hundred and five thousand pounds sterling might be granted to one or more persons in trust for your petitioner."<sup>1</sup>

The Lord High Treasurer, by the advice of the Attorney and Solicitor General, was empowered to make the desired grant, "the moneys being owing to her Majesty's enemies in France, and contracted for the service of the French King in his wars against her Majesty and her allies, and not contracted in a way of private trade".<sup>2</sup> The grant in question safe-guarded part of the wreck of Huguetan's property from so-called creditors who held bills of exchange to a very great value, which "he had been unjustly and by violence compelled to draw in France and upon France for the use of that Crown".<sup>3</sup>

A year later, we find Huguetan applying to the Queen's High Commissioner and the Estates of Parliament in Scotland for an act of Naturalisation in favour of himself and his heirs. His reasons for wishing to settle in Scotland are given in his own words as follows:—

"That being now resolved to settle and follow trade, as I have done for about thirty years, I could find no place more likely where to improve my fortune than Scotland, by reason of its situation, and natural advantages for trade, and I intend (God willing) to transport myself and my effects to this Kingdom, which, after the experience I have had of the different subjects of commerce and manners of trading, in most places of business in the world, may not only prove an advantage to me but to many others."<sup>4</sup>

On 24th March, 1707, the Scottish Parliament passed an Act of Naturalisation in favour of John Henry Huguetan and the children of his body;<sup>5</sup> and Parliament also granted

<sup>1</sup> Petition of John Henry Huguetan to Queen Anne dated 11th August, 1705.—*Treasury Papers*, vol. xvi., No. 17. (Public Record Office.)

<sup>2</sup> Report of the Attorney and Solicitor General on Huguetan's Petition.—*Ibid.*

<sup>3</sup> Huguetan's Petition to Queen Anne.

<sup>4</sup> Huguetan's Petition to H. M. High Commissioner and the Estates of Parliament in Scotland.—*Acts of the Parliaments of Scotland*, vol. xi., appx. p. 99.

<sup>5</sup> "OUR SOVEREIGN LADY considering that John Henry Huguetan a Frenchman and Protestant being obliged to retire out of France upon the account of the persecution, and he being well known in trade, and being desirous to settle in this Kingdom and to bring all his effects here in

to petitioner "Protection for seven years from July, 1705, for his person and estate against his creditors and pretended creditors, for debts contracted before his last retreat out of France".<sup>1</sup>

Being now a British subject Huguetan espoused British interests. He went over to the Hague in May, 1707, and approached the States General with a view to "lessening the credit of the French in Holland, and preventing them being supplied from thence with money for the support of their armies".<sup>2</sup>

Very little is known of the remainder of Huguetan's life and that little is gathered from French writers. After many years spent in Scotland Huguetan finally settled in Denmark and founded a Company "pour commerce maritime, des manufactures de laine et de soie, et une banque".<sup>3</sup> La Baumelle, who was Professor of French at Copenhagen, says that Huguetan lived in great magnificence. Weiss, the Huguenot biographer, records that Huguetan "soutint de ses dons les premiers colons de Fredericia". Frederick IV. created him Count of Guldenstein. The Messieurs Haag believe that Huguetan survived to the age of 103 and that his death was caused by chagrin at not receiving the Danish Order of the Elephant! This assertion is manifestly a fable. Weiss distinctly tells us that Huguetan, Count of Guldenstein, died at Copenhagen in 1749, in the eighty-sixth year of his age. The same learned author says, "Huguetan fut toute sa vie le bienfaiteur des pauvres".<sup>4</sup> Truly an enviable epitaph. Huguetan is said to have married a natural daughter of the Prince of Orange. His son, the second Count of Guldenstein, was appointed Councillor to Christian VII.

order to carry on trade, And for that effect to be Naturalised; Therefore Her Majesty, with advice and consent of the Estates of Parliament Statutes, Enacts and Declares that the said John Henry Huguetan and the Children of his Body, and all persons lineally descending from him, born or hereafter to be born, be and shall be to all intents and purposes whatsoever holden or repute; taken and esteemed natural born Subjects of this Kingdom, as if the said John Henry Huguetan and the Children of his body, And all Persons lineally Descending from him, born or hereafter to be born had been born within this Nation, and shall Injoy all benefits and privileges of natural born Subjects of this Kingdom."—*Acts of the Parliaments of Scotland*, vol. xi., p. 484.

<sup>1</sup> *Acts of the Parliaments of Scotland*, vol. xi., appx., p. 99.

<sup>2</sup> Marlborough to Secretary Harley, 28th May, 1707.—*Marlborough Dispatches*, vol. iii., p. 381.

<sup>3</sup> Haag's *La France Protestante*.

<sup>4</sup> *Histoire des Réfugiés Protestants*, vol. ii., p. 149.



We now revert to Pierre Huguetan, born in 1674<sup>1</sup>, younger son of Jean Antoine Huguetan, the Lyons publisher. Pierre's life was an uneventful one, but he had the family knack of making money and amassed a large fortune as a publisher at Amsterdam. He purchased the estate of Vryhoven, in Holland, which gave him the title of Baron. By his first wife, Marie de Vic, he had an only daughter, Adriana Margareta, who married Henry Charles, Count of Nassau, seigneur of Beverweert, by whom she had no issue. Baron Vryhoven married, secondly, Margareta Clara Harenceopel, by whom he had a daughter Alexandrina, who died unmarried, and a son named Pierre. At his death, in 1741, Baron Vryhoven left the bulk of his property to his son, but by his Will dated at Amsterdam, 26th August, 1740, and proved 7th February, 1741, he left certain moneys in the English funds in trust to his executors, one of whom was the Count of Nassau. By the terms of this trust the testator's son was to have only a life interest in the above moneys, and if his said son died without surviving issue, the whole of the capital in the English Funds was to pass to the issue of testator's sisters Marie and Martha. Marie Huguetan had married, at the beginning of the eighteenth century, Mathieu Hullin de Gastine, Major in General Belcastel's regiment of French Foot in the service of William III. The issue of this marriage was an only child Jacques Marc Hullin de Gastine, subsequently known as James Gastine, a domiciled Englishman and a Director of the French Hospital in the east of London. Martha Huguetan<sup>2</sup> married a resident of Leyden, Philibert by name, and had issue.

The second Baron Vryhoven was a notable miser, and although blessed with a large fortune, far beyond his needs, the latter half of his life was rendered miserable to him by the knowledge that a large sum of money was tied up in the hands of trustees, the capital of which he was powerless to add to his piled-up hoards. He quarrelled with his brother-in-law, the Count of Nassau, and the Count's co-trustee, for withholding the funds in question. He would have nothing to do with his first cousin James Gastine, and only communicated with him through the medium of a solicitor. He spent the evening of his long life in London, living in a

<sup>1</sup> Pierre's sponsors were Pierre Crotier des Marets and Marguerite Huguetan, widow of André Nadal.—*Huguetan Pedigree*.

<sup>2</sup> Will dated at Leyden, 26th September, 1745, and proved for England 23rd February, 1763.—*Ibid*.

miserly fashion on the bread of carefulness. On the 10th September, 1789, this unhappy individual made his last Will,<sup>1</sup> which in less than two years was to be the talk of London. In this document the testator complains of "the injustice of his father's executors to him for forty-eight years," and leaves "to his English relatives the sum of one shilling each". Baron Vryhoven bequeathed the Seigneurie of Vryhoven to the eldest son of the burgomaster of Zutphen, and left his personalty to charitable institutions, prominent among which were the S.P.G. and S.P.C.K., which Societies were to prosecute their claims to certain sums owing to testator. Under date of 20th May, 1791, the following obituary notice appeared in the *Gentleman's Magazine*:—

"In Air St., Piccadilly, aged seventy-six, Peter Huguetan, Lord of Vryhoven in Holland. This extraordinary man, by extreme parsimony, had accumulated not less than £600,000, having in our funds £314,125, and little less, if anything, in the banks of Holland, Genoa and Venice, the bulk of which he has disposed of to charitable institutions."

The deceased Baron received honourable sepulture in St. James's Church, Piccadilly, where his bones still rest. It is recorded that a day or two after his funeral his landlady found, when sweeping out her late lodger's room, a piece of newspaper on which was written a small legacy to herself, and also the very handsome bequest of £20,000 to Colonel (afterwards Major-General) John Arabin, a friend—probably the sole friend—of the late baron. The landlady immediately took the bit of paper to Huguetan's executors who, recognising the Baron's hand-writing and its legality, took steps to have this strange codicil proved.<sup>2</sup>

The "English relations" to whom Peter Huguetan left "a shilling each" were the three daughters of the Rev. Edmund Gibson, Rector of Bishop's Stortford, Herts, who had married the only child and heiress of James Gastine.<sup>3</sup> The three Miss Gibsons, who lost their mother in 1779, were entitled to half the trust money in the English Funds as the representatives of Major de Gastine and Marie

<sup>1</sup> Proved in London, 1791.

<sup>2</sup> *Notes and Queries*, 1854, p. 394.

<sup>3</sup> James Gastine was born in Denmark St. in the parish of St. Giles in the Fields between 1700-1704 and was married, 18th Nov., 1742, in the parish church of St. Bennet's, Paul's Wharf, to Miss Rebecca Heaton. Their only daughter, Mary Anne, was born in King St., St. Anne, Soho, 21st Feb., 1744; married 5th Feb., 1765, at St. James's, Westminster, to the Rev. Edmund Gibson, grandson of Dr. Edmund Gibson, Bishop of London, 1723-1748.



Huguetan his wife; while the other half of the said trust funds devolved on the representative of Philibert of Leyden and Martha Huguetan his wife. The Miss Gibsons accordingly received between ten and twelve thousand pounds each; but the youngest (the writer's grandmother)<sup>1</sup> being under age at the time of the division of the trust funds, her share was placed by the Court of Holland, by appointment dated 27th July, 1792, in the hands of four Guardians, two of whom were Dutch, who held the same in trust until 1794 when she came of age.

## APPENDIX.

### *Will of Margaret Perachon.*

COMMUNICATED BY HENRY WAGNER, F.S.A.

In the Name of God the ffather Son and Holy Ghost one God alone and three persons eternally Blessed to whom be all honour & glory. Amen. Be it known to all [to] whom it belongs that I Margarett Perachon widow of the deceased John Anthony Huguetan in health of Body and enjoying through the grace of God at a very advanced age my Judgment & Memory after having seriously reflected upon the inconstancy & instability of all things under the Sun upon the uncertainty of humane Life and the certainty of death & the uncertainty of the time when it will happen I give thanks to Almighty God that I am born in his Church and that he has given me grace to make a profession in this Land of the Christian and truely reformed Religion and after haveing recommended my soul to God and asked him most humble pardon of all my sinns through the merits of our Lord Jesus Christ and for not seizing me with death before I have settled the affaires of my ffamily I declare by this present Testament which is my last Will which I myself have indited and gott wrote by a Notary of my own free will and pleasure without the solicitation or persuasion of any one whomsoever that I revoak & make null and void by these presents all Testaments coddicills donations of what kind soever they be and Generally all Acts or disposi-

<sup>1</sup> Maria Gibson married the Rev. James Dalton, Rector of Croft, Yorkshire, and died in 1858.

tions of last will which I have made before these presents declaring the same null and of no validity and willing that if any shall be found after my decease beside this they shall be reputed and taken as having never been made or passed Likewise if there shall be found any derogatory [*sic*] clause which I declare to have no knowledge of and proceeding to a disposition of the goods or Estate which it hath pleased the divine providence to grant to me I give to the poor which are entertained or maintained by the Ladys de Beringhen de Massanes and others to go towards the charges of what we call the Marmite an annuall Rent of twenty five florins of money of Holland for the space of fifteen years successively to be reckoned from the day of my decease which summe of twenty five florins shall be regularly paid every year by my Heiress which I here after name and upon her decease by her Heirs & Assigns during the said fiftene yeares so that the said Rent shall not be redeemed by any capitall sume whatsoever I give to my son Peter Huguetan the sume of three thousand florins of mony of Holland once to be paid to him which to be for his Legitimate as well as for all other rights and pretensions which he may have to my Succession. I give to the child of my daughter Mary Huguetan wife of Mr De Gabine the sume of three thousand florins money of Holland once payd and for the same reason as above and in regard to my eldest son Henry Huguetan I declare to have had an intention to give to him for his Legitimate the aforesaid sume of three thousand florins of Holland but having found and being informed that my said son Huguetan doth not pretend to the said sume three thousand florins but to the contrary that he relinquishes the said sume of three thousand florins and other pretentions to the legitimate I accept such renunciation and take the said legitimate in my favour to dispose of to such a person as I shall think fitt and doing which I give in form of a legacy the said sume of three thousand florins of Holland to Margaret Huguetan daughter of my said son John Henry Huguetan and that in recompense of the particular Love and affection I have for her and in regard of the sume of one thousand florins placed out in England in the name of Martha Huguetan my daughter and of Margaret Philibert my granddaughter I will and appoint that so long as my daughter Martha Huguetan shall live she shall enjoy and dispose of at her will and pleasure the Rent or Income of the said sume of a thousand florins which Rent is



at the Rate of twelve p cent p annum and after the decease of my daughter Martha I will that in case the Rent of the aforesaid thousand florins shall be and wholly and properly belong to the said Margaret Philibert my Grandchild all which Gifts and Legacys I will order and appoint shall be punctually paid by my heiress hereafter named Six months after my decease without any defalcation or retraction understood in law, but the same to be clear for such is my will I nominate and appoint my universall Heiress to all my Goods or Estate moveable and immoveable of what kind Soever and wheresoever the same may be my daughter Susannah Huguetan widow of Eland Renaud de la Piemante to my succession and to all which I shall leave to do enjoy and dispose of at her will and as her own proper estate which said Susannah Huguetan my daughter I declare make and appoint likewise Executrix of this present will not willing that any one shall intermeddle with the affairs of my succession except such whom my Heiress shall please to assume to assist her with their advice if she shall find it proper and particularly excluding with respect the orphans Magistrates of the Hague and of all other places where I shall happen to dye Haveing read over all that is above carefully I declare it to be my last will which I will shall be performed punctually according to its form and tenour be it as Testament codicill donation or otherwise tho' all the solemnitys necessary in Law may not have been observed Reserveing to myself a power by another act signed with my hand or by any other writing to Add or diminish anything in this my said will to Revoke the Legacies or to make others or to appoint quite otherwise from what I have done here before and that all that shall in like manner be done and appointed by me shall have the same force as if it had been inserted word for word Done at the Hague in Holland the twenty fourth day of October in the year one thousand seven hundred and eleavan In witness where of I have signed these presents with my owne hand and confirmed the same with my seal. Was subscribed M Perachon Widow Huguetan L.S.

Translated out of French.

ffollows the Act of Superscription

This twenty fourth day of October in the year 1711 before me Gysbert de Creffer Notary Publick admitted by the Court of Holland residing at the Hague in the presence of the witnesses hereafter named Appeared in her proper person Mrs Margaret Perachon widow of the deceased John Anthony

Huguetan dwelling here at the Hague well knowne to me Notary in health of Body & enjoying her memory & understanding as outwardly appeared to us who by me Notary upon a Stamp of three florins haveing made write and subscribed with her owne hand her Testament . . . desiring me to seal it up which I have done haveing tyed it with a grey thread and sealed it with seven seals to witt four with the seal of the Testatrix and three with the seal of me Notary, this done and passed at the Hague in the presence of David Salomon De La Grange and Albert Schull clerck witnesses.

Pr. in the Prerogative Court of Canterbury, 5 July, 1721, by Isaac Lernet, attorney for the Executrix Susannah de la Piemante. (130, Buckingham.)

## NOTE.

## ANNALS OF A QUIET FAMILY (LAFARGUE).

THE heroine of those fascinating *Annals of a Quiet Family*, for which we are indebted to Dr. Philpot (pp. 253-285) was, one is glad to think, left less alone in her exile than has been supposed. There is evidence that at least her three sisters-in-law—Esther Brun, widow of Dr. John Lafargue, Anne Marcon *née* Lafargue and Elizabeth Denis *née* Lafargue were in refuge with her. By her will, dated 22nd September, 1711, and proved in the Commissary Court 23rd January, 171 $\frac{1}{2}$ , Hester Lafargue, widow of John Lafargue, M.D., of the parish of St. Giles-in-the-Fields, leaves her nephew Elias £300, and appoints for Executrixes her niece Lidy Lafargue [not identified in the Annals] and her sister Dennis. Anne Marcon, also of the parish of St. Giles-in-the-Fields, widow, appoints her sister, the widow, Denys, executrix in conjunction with Colonel John Savary. This will, dated 4th June, 1711, was proved in the P.C.C., 7th April, 1715 (73 Fagg). The testatrix names, besides her nephew Elias, her sister's grand-daughter, in France, Mary (?) Suquette. Her "recantation" in 1688 tended, as was doubtless intended, to facilitate her escape, and her resolve "*reculer pour mieux sauter*".

Others of the same name, though maybe not of the same stock, are met with. In 1711, Peter La Fargue, of Enfield, leaves to the Rev William Bowles £10 to buy as many *Whole Duties of Man* as the income of the sum will allow to be distributed to the youngest respondents at the Church Catechism. This Peter had a brother in Holland, but his nearest relations in England appear to have been two Ville-sauve cousins. Again in 1730, as appears by her will to be found at P.C.C. (263, Auber), Ann, widow of Isaac Pein *alias* La Fargue, of St. Giles-in-the-Fields, leaves behind her three children, Isaac, Ann, wife of James Piger, jeweller, and Magdalen Pein.

HENRY WAGNER.

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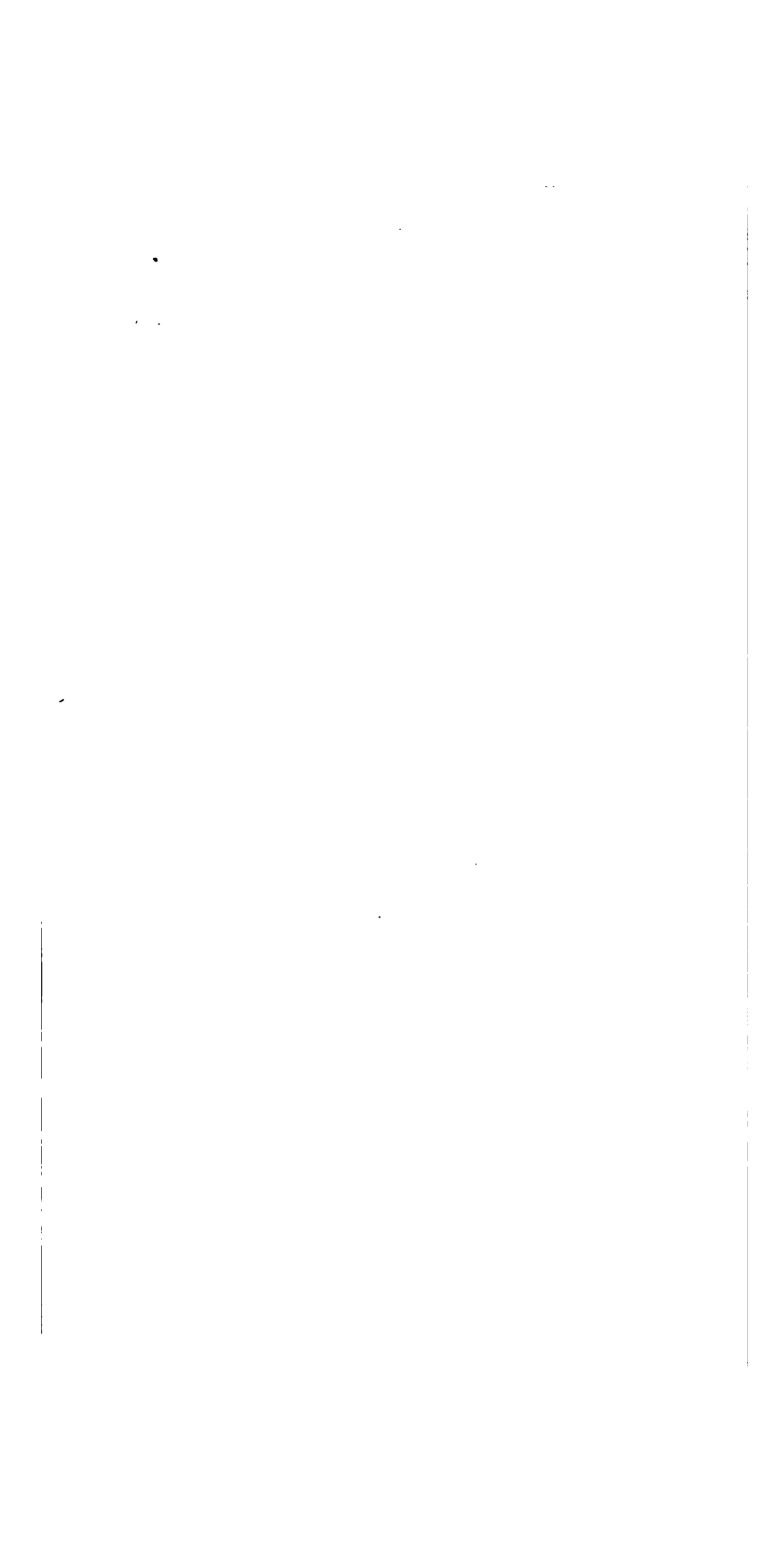
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